

**RACISM TOWARD BLACKS AND INDIGENOUS  
PEOPLES IN AMERICA**

The Kant-Darwin Model  
And  
Philosophy's Problem with Racism

Mohamed Abualy Alibhai (PhD, Harvard)

The Olduvai Review

August 2020

**RACISM TOWARD BLACKS AND INDIGENOUS  
PEOPLES IN AMERICA**

The Kant-Darwin Model  
And  
Philosophy's Problem with Racism

Mohamed Abualy Alibhai (PhD, Harvard)

The Olduvai Review

August 2020

© Mohamed Abualy Alibhai

# Table of Contents

## PREAMBLE

Africans and African Americans	1
Indigenous Peoples	3
Romani/Gypsy Communities in Britain, Europe and US	3
The American Philosophical Community	4
Racism: A Lifelong Issue for Me	4
A Note on the Contents of the Present Essay	5
References	5

## PROLOGUE

The Aftermath of George Floyd	5
-------------------------------	---

## THE ESSAY

### PART ONE

#### The Kant-Darwin Model Of The Races

##### Introduction

	Immanuel Kant: Architect of European Race Theory	10
I	<b>Racism and Racism Studies</b>	15
	Racism Studies Shift the Focus Away from European Racism	17
	Biology is Not the Culprit in Biologically Grounded Conceptions of Race	18
	Primordial Tribes and Indigenous Peoples are Kinship Communities	19
	Racism and Racialism	19
II	<b>European Racism: <i>Sui Generis</i></b>	20
	Biblical and Natural Law Justifications: The Spanish in the Americas	22
III	<b>European Racism: The Kant-Darwin Model</b>	23
	Four Strands in the Formation of the Kant-Darwin Model	24
	Kant's Skin-Color Theory of the Races	26
	Bedrock of Kant's Philosophy: Human Nature–Skin Color Coupling	31
	The Core Elements of the Model	33

	Kant's Formalism	34
	Race, Reason and Practical Reason	37
	Language, Thought and the Inferior Races	38
	<i>Perpetual Peace</i> and <i>Universal History</i> are Consistent with Kant's Raciology	39
	European Universalism is the Same as Universalism	39
	European Philosophy is the Same as Philosophy	40
	Kant's Cosmopolitanism	42
	Cosmopolitanism and the Colored Races	45
	Cosmopolitan Hospitality: Philosophical Cover for European Colonization?	46
	Enter Charles Darwin	48
	Social Darwinism	48
IV	<b>Exemplifying the Kant-Darwin Model</b>	49
	Slavery in the American South	49
	Lynchings in the US	50
	Lynchings as Picnics	50
	Large Festive Crowds	52
	Children at the Lynchings	56
	Lynching of Black Women: Mary Turner and Laura Nelson	56
	Lynching, Shooting and Burning	58
	Lynchings as Souvenirs	58
	Lynching as Thanksgiving	59
	Lynching as the Hunting and Killing of Cage-Free Animals	60
	Trophies from the Successful Hunt	60
	Body Riddled with Bullets	61
	The Kant-Darwin Attributes of the Lynchings	61
	The Reservations in the US	63
	The "Five Civilized Tribes": Futility of Cultural Assimilation	63
	The Kant-Darwin Model in Action: Human Zoos	66
	Africans	67
	Ota Benga Caged with Apes	67
	The Little African Girl at the Zoo in Brussels	71
	The Conjunction of Human Zoos, Imperialism and Lynchings	73
	Native Americans	75
	Sitting Bull and Buffalo Bill Cody	75
	Annexing Tribal Land for the Garrison Dam	77
	Polynesians	79
	The Kanaks of Polynesia: The Little Girl at the Zoo	79
	German and Belgian Eugenics in Rwanda	81
	African Americans	81
	The Murder of Emmett Till	81

V	<b>Contemporary Racism and the Kant-Darwin Model</b>	82
	Treatment of African Americans in the US	83
	Police Departments	83
	“I Can’t Breathe”: Eric Garner	84
	“I Can’t Breathe”: George Floyd	84
	The Case of Ahmaud Arbery	85
	Police Unions and Federations	89
	Infiltration of Police Departments and Unions by KKK and Supremacists	90
	Republican Electoral Gerrymandering and Disenfranchisement	90
	American Civil Society: Institutional Racism	90
	Questioning Black Intelligence: <i>The Bell Curve</i> Debate	91
	Media Reaction to <i>The Bell Curve</i>	92
	Bill Clinton as President	92
	Hillary Clinton	92
	<i>The Bell Curve’s</i> Kantian Raciology	93
	Mixed-Blood Races: Kant’s Skin-Color Theory Is Still Active Today	94
	Treatment of Indigenous Peoples in Europe and Eurogenic Countries	95
	The British Home Office: Hostile Environment	97
	Bretton-Woods, WTO, CIDA, Davos: The “International System”	97
	Soccer: Monkey Chants, Monkey Gestures, Bananas	98
	Photojournalism and the Media: Dying African Child Stalked by a Vulture	99
	The Reaction to Kevin Carter’s Photo	100
	Thought Experiment: Black African Photojournalist	102
	Redefining Racism as Cultural Desecrates the Victims of Kant-Darwin Racism	104
	Litmus Tests for Racism	105
	Cultural or Ideological Racism	105
	Islamophobia is Not Racism	106
	Zionism is Not Racism	107

## **PART TWO**

### **The Philosophy Community’s Problem With Racism**

VI	<b>Kantian Studies Today</b>	109
	Kantian Apologetics	109
	Pauline Kleingeld	110
	Omission of Kant’s Raciology from Online Encyclopedias of Philosophy	111
	Pitting Kant against Himself	112
	Albert Schweitzer: Benevolent Racist	113
	Why are Kantians Defending the Indefensible?	114
	Kantian Jihadism and Muslim Jihadism: Parallels	115
	“Mandate from Heaven”	115
	Division of the World into Two Camps	116

	Mission to the Other Camp: Conquest and Evangelism	116
	Treatment of People in the Other Camp	116
	Universalism	117
	Governance	117
	Cosmopolitanism	117
	The Fate of Non-European Cultures	118
	End of History	118
	Perpetual Peace	119
	The Hindu Theory of Human Inequality: The Caste System	119
	Race and Color: The Caste System	120
	Skin Color and Aryanism	121
	Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa	122
	Africans in India: Subjected to Caste and Kant-Darwin Racism	124
	Muslim Indians in Africa	126
	Kantian End Times and the Hindu Caste System: Unsettling Parallels?	127
	Black Americans Have Already Attained End-Times Perpetual Peace	129
	Perpetual Peace and End Times: White Golf Ball Analogy	129
	The End-Times Attributes of Black Americans	131
	The Real significance of Kant's <i>Categorical Imperative</i>	134
	American Police Departments and Kantian Philosophers: Startled Bedfellows?	135
VII	<b>Philosophy is Modeled on Kant's Raciology</b>	139
	Philosophy Conforms to Kant's Genus-Species Model of the Races	139
	Autochthony and Self-Sufficiency of White Eurogenic Philosophy	142
	The Kantianism of Philosophy's Apartheid Structure: Bantustans and Reservations	143
	The APA's Newsletters for Yellow, Black and Red Philosophers	144
	Struggling with Philosophy's Apartheid Structure: Chinese Philosophy	146
	The Evangelism of the Philosophy Establishment	148
	Martha Nussbaum's Schweitzerian Kantianism	149
	Reform Must Strike at the Root of Philosophy's Problem with Racism	152
	The APA's Resource Collection on Diversity and Inclusivity	153
	Law and Philosophy	153
	History of Philosophy	156
	Ancient Greece Must be Separated From Europe	159
	A Standalone Course on Ancient Greek Philosophy	163
VIII	<b>Conclusion</b>	164
	What Americans Can Learn from Ancient African Culture	164
	Eurogenic <i>Grand</i> Narrative	165
	Eurogenic <i>Minor</i> Narrative	165
	Tribal Versus Scriptural Conceptions of the Equality of Human Natures	168
	<b>EPILOGUE</b>	169

# Racism Toward Blacks and Indigenous Peoples in America<sup>1</sup>

## The Kant-Darwin Model And Philosophy's Problem with Racism

Mohamed Abualy Alibhai<sup>2</sup>

### PREAMBLE

**THE LONG ESSAY** that is bookended by the Prologue and the Epilogue is addressed to two main sets of readers: In the first set are Africans,<sup>3</sup> Indigenous<sup>4</sup> peoples of the world, and the Romani (Gypsy) people in Britain, Europe and the US. The second set of readers comprises the American philosophy community and its institutional organ, the American Philosophical Association (APA).

#### **Africans and African Americans**

Among Africans, my principal focus is on two sub-groups: Africans in Africa, and the African diaspora. In Africa, I have in mind academics, journalists, intellectuals such as novelists, senior government officials and, last but not least, philosophically minded ordinary citizens who take an interest in the big issues of the day.

---

<sup>1</sup> I dedicate this essay to the memory of the late Nigerian philosopher, Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze (1963-2007), in response to whose 1997 exposé of Immanuel Kant's race theory the Kantian apologists are still defending Kant today.

<sup>2</sup> Mohamed Abualy Alibhai holds a BSc degree from the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, an MSc from the University of London, and a PhD from Harvard University. For more about Mohamed's background, visit the About page at his website, *The Olduvai Review*, <https://theolduvaireview.com/about/mohamed-abualy-alibhai>.

<sup>3</sup> For the purposes of this essay I restrict the term "African" to the black indigenous peoples of sub-Saharan Africa who are aboriginal to the land. There are white (European) Africans and brown (Indians, Arabs, Lebanese) Africans who are citizens of several African countries. "African" in this essay should be understood to mean "black African."

<sup>4</sup> For the purposes of this essay, by "Indigenous" I refer to the aboriginal peoples of lands where Europeans settled and came into contact with them. The Sami people of northern Scandinavia, Finland and Russia are also "indigenous" in this sense, for they pre-existed the inroads made by the Scandinavians into their lands.



By “African diaspora” I refer to Africans who live in countries outside Africa—mostly in Europe and Britain but on a smaller scale in Canada and the US. They arrived in these countries as immigrants, refugees, students, asylum seekers, etc. following the end of World War II. Today, however, Africans can be found in practically every country in the world (outside Africa), including China, where Tanzanian students go on Chinese scholarships to study at Chinese universities.

Within the African diaspora, I distinguish two main groups: those who have acquired citizenship and, in some cases, have been present in their new home country for several generations (for example, in France), and those who are present in these countries as foreign nationals (students in Britain, Europe, India, and so on). I am particularly interested in academics (faculty and students, from high school through post-doctoral students to professors), journalists, professionals and business people. They are the most intellectually and morally concerned and preoccupied with the question of racism, its conceptualization within white Eurogenic<sup>5</sup> society and government and, of course, its formulation in policy and execution in practice.

There is yet another group of Africans who are included in this essay: African Americans. They are descendants of slaves who were seized and brought to the Americas to work as slaves on plantations and as housekeepers and nannies in households, and so on. They have been present on American soil for four hundred years, although the traffic in slaves accelerated greatly after the formal birth of the American Republic in 1789.<sup>6</sup>

The history of the African American community has unfolded along a very different path compared to the path along which the colonial history of Africa unfolded. The historic civil rights victories in the mid-1960s are in danger today of proving to have been Pyrrhic victories

---

<sup>5</sup> I use the term “Eurogenic” instead of the term “Western” because it more correctly labels white Europeans (and white British) and their offspring who established settler states in the Americas, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and some islands like Tasmania. The term “Western” is geographical in its etymology but has acquired civilizational connotation originating in the division of Christendom in the 11<sup>th</sup> century into the (Latin) Catholic Christianity of western Europe and the (Greek) Orthodox Christianity of eastern Europe. Prior to this religious division into west and east, the Roman Empire had divided its vast territory into west and east for purely administrative reasons. To persist in using “Western” for European peoples leads to such cognitive dissonance as that of New Zealand, which is farther *east* of the “easternmost” country, Japan (where the sun rises!). The suffix “genic” in “Eurogenic” accurately refers to the European origin of the settler Europeans (including Britain).

<sup>6</sup> Although Americans are taught in schools that America was founded in 1776, the formal coming-into-being of the new republic had to wait until the required “quorum” of states had ratified the new constitution. Work on drafting the new federal constitution had begun in 1787, and it took effect on March 4, 1789 after 11 states had ratified it. The new federal government began operations by convening the First Congress on March 4, 1789. Rhode Island was the last of the 13 colonies to ratify the Constitution in 1790. The USA that exists today was born as a constitutional republic in 1789, not in 1776.

for African Americans with the resurgence of racism and state-initiated police brutality against black Americans. I will have more to say on this topic in this essay.

## Indigenous Peoples

In this category I include aboriginal communities like the Sami in northern Europe; First Nations, Métis, Inuit in Canada; Native Americans in the US; several Indigenous nations in Central and South America; the Aboriginal nations of Australia; and the Maori of New Zealand.

Among the Indigenous communities, I have kept in mind academics (students, faculty and administrators) at institutions on their “reserve” territories as well as at institutions in the much larger, mostly white<sup>7</sup> society outside the “reservations.” In nearly all cases, the Indigenous peoples were dispossessed of their primordial lands, brutally mistreated and herded into small resource-poor strips of land where they are governed as “wards” of the European “guardian” settlers (augmented by immigrants from non-European countries). Although the examples I discuss in the essay are from the Native American (US) communities, they are equally applicable to and representative of other Indigenous nations around the world.

## Romani/Gypsy Communities in Britain, Europe and US

The Romani are people of Indian origin who trekked outward from northern India—Rajasthan, Haryana and Punjab<sup>8</sup>—sometime before 1000 AD and arrived in Europe in early 11<sup>th</sup> century AD. Throughout their history in Europe, the Romani have been subjected to various forms of persecution. The worst persecution took place under the Nazis, who stripped them of German citizenship, herded them into concentration camps and proceeded to exterminate them. Instead of showing compassion toward them following these horrendous events, Europeans have continued to hold the most dehumanizing views about the Romani and have refused to accept them as equal fellow citizens.

Today, the Romani live on the margins of cities and towns of Europe and Britain under de facto social and economic boycott by the white and immigrant society around them. They are extremely poor and are forced to assume a nomadic existence, rejected by whites and

---

<sup>7</sup> Ordinarily I would use “Caucasian,” but here I will use “white” to remain consistent with Immanuel Kant’s usage when I discuss his theory of race.

<sup>8</sup> The noted Romani scholar of Romani history and language, Ian Hancock, argues that the Romani are descendants of Indian prisoners of war of Mahmud of Ghazni. Some are descendants of Rajputs who fled via the Himalayas to escape Mahmud. He also suggests that the Romani language is close to Hindustani. Ian Hancock, “The Emergence of Romani as a Koiné Outside of India.” *Scholarship and the Gypsy Struggle: Commitment in Romani Studies*, 2000.

immigrants wherever they try to settle. They are the most vulnerable, weak, invisible and politically voiceless non-white people in Britain and Europe. Anti-Romani prejudice among white Europeans is so strong that governments can act cruelly toward them in the knowledge that the public will remain indifferent to, if not support, these actions.<sup>9</sup>

## **The American Philosophical Community**

I find myself addressing this august and cerebral community because, as this essay labors diligently and assiduously to show, its unexamined and unrecognized underlying conceptual framework militates against the community honestly confronting its white American racism. I have often wondered whether it even *wants* to confront it and identify this underlying conceptual framework that animates white American society and its institutional agents to treat black Americans the way they do. For a community of professional thinkers—the overwhelming number of whom are supported by the American taxpayer—dedicated to the “life of the mind” and to the impartial analysis of concepts and argumentation, their indifference to the conceptual foundations of, say, police brutality ought to be embarrassing, assuming that their above-average keenly sharpened rational capacities have not sidelined their respective consciences in which the capacity for embarrassment lies.

## **Racism: A Lifelong Issue for Me**

I was born in Mumbai in pre-Partition India, under the British Raj. Six months later my parents migrated to Tanganyika (Tanzania), where I grew up and came of age in 1961, the year when Tanganyika attained independence. I consider it a great blessing that I was able to study at a black African university, the University of Dar es Salaam,<sup>10</sup> whose science faculty was one of the best on the continent. Later, in Britain, Canada and the US, race relations and the treatment of African Americans and Indigenous peoples consumed me morally, emotionally and intellectually. The subject has been a perennial disturbance in my mind and a constant prod from my conscience. I too, like many colored peoples in the US, especially during the years following 9/11, have had my share of discrimination and verbal and even physical abuse. (In one incident, during the Gulf War, I was physically attacked in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in broad daylight by a group of eight 10-year-old boys who thought I was an Arab. They felled me to the ground and pummeled and kicked me all over the body. Bystanders just stood by and watched the show. No one came to my assistance.)

---

<sup>9</sup> To give one example: in 2010 the French government forcibly evicted hundreds of Romani from France to Romania, an act that was condemned by the European Union.

<sup>10</sup> The University of Dar es Salaam was initially University College, a constituent college of the University of East Africa, whose other two members were Makerere College (Kampala, Uganda) and Royal College (Nairobi, Kenya). Makerere College is now Makerere University, and Royal College has become the University of Nairobi.

## A Note on the Contents of the Present Essay

The present essay is an adaptation of an earlier essay<sup>11</sup> in which I first introduced and developed the Kant-Darwin model of the races. Most of Part One in the present essay reproduces material from this previous essay (the section on lynching is new). Part Two in this present essay also reproduces material on Kantian scholars from the previous essay, but it has been expanded to address the issue of racism in the philosophy community and in the philosophy curriculum.

## References

Most of the events I refer to in this essay have been covered by the major media. Information about them is therefore readily available through search engines like Google or through such online resources like Wikipedia. In a few cases where I thought a student would be well-served with a reference to a source—for example, a specific text of Immanuel Kant—I have tried to provide it. I have provided more than a hundred footnotes for what is, after all, an essay.

# PROLOGUE

## The Aftermath of George Floyd

There is little doubt that the reaction of white Americans to the murder of George Floyd by Officer Derek Chauvin, which was witnessed by the entire world, is qualitatively different from previous instances that had given well-meaning people the false hope that “it is different this time.” Yes, it is different this time, because sections of white society appear to have finally, if grudgingly, acknowledged that black Americans are not being treated well by the police departments. Indeed, they are also willing to acknowledge the existence of systemic or structural racism that disproportionately harms or disadvantages black Americans.

How is one to explain this palpable shift in white attitudes? I think that there are several aspects to Floyd’s killing by Officer Derek Chauvin that, taken together, broke through the Iron Curtain behind which white Americans had imprisoned their consciences. The first was that the event could not be denied: it occurred before their eyes. They saw the entire sequence

---

<sup>11</sup> “Julius Nyerere and African Racism: The Kant-Darwin Model.” *The Olduvai Review*, June 2020. Accessible and downloadable at my website: <http://theolduvaireview.com>.

from the first scenes that show Officer Chauvin approach the van, to the driver's door being pulled open, from Officer Chauvin grabbing and pulling Floyd out of the vehicle, to him and his accomplices pinning Floyd down to the ground, to him placing his knee on Floyd's neck while his accomplices held his legs, to the end.

White American viewers, like the rest of the world community, could see that Floyd lay on the ground on his stomach. He was handcuffed and posed no threat to anyone, not even to the tiny insects around him. The witnessing world community saw that in spite of this completely incapacitated state to which the officers had successfully reduced him, Officer Chauvin continued to press his knee on Floyd's neck. But it was the manner, his body language, his face, the casually indifferent look in his eyes, his left hand in his pant pocket suggesting he had no intention of easing up, the deliberate deafness to the bystanders' cries that Floyd could not breathe, his cold-heartedness to Floyd's cries that he could not breathe, Floyd's calling out to his Mama, and other details all of which cumulatively cut through to white consciences and compelled them to acknowledge that what the Blacks have been complaining about is really true.

Whites and the world community saw in Officer Chauvin not an individual bad apple but a typical representative of everything the Blacks have been complaining about the police departments: the exterminationist belief that Black people are human-looking beasts that need to be hunted down and eliminated to purify white society; the sadism with which police officers brutalize and gun down Blacks; the astronomical scale of the brutality (firing up to 50 bullets into the body, even when the man is inside his car and unable to flee); the routine casualness with which officers kill Blacks; the readiness, willingness, even the *itchiness* to kill; the "I dare you" look of Officer Chauvin directed toward onlookers who were pleading to him to show mercy; the look of impunity, of the certainty that not only nothing would happen to him but that his killing of Floyd would even be notched up as an "accomplishment" deserving of promotion; the sheer coldhearted Nazi-like wantonness in persisting to keep his knee on Floyd's neck even after he became limp and was no longer responding; and, last but not least, his demeanor, witnessed by the whole world, that he was *smugly and cold-bloodedly enjoying* what he was doing to Floyd, much like the Nazis who cold-bloodedly enjoyed watching the Jews scream as chlorine gas came pouring down on them in the gas chambers.

That the white-dominated American Philosophical Association (APA) has felt its collective conscience stricken by the killing of George Floyd supports my remark that, yes, to some positive extent, "it is different this time." I have been a longstanding member of the APA and have always regarded it as one of the most resistant to *introspection* into its deep-seated intellectual and moral supremacism not just with respect to race but with respect to non-Eurogenic cultures and, I would say, to other schools of philosophy within the Eurogenic tradition, for example, toward the philosophical ideas of Karl Marx.

There have been numerous occasions during the past 30+ years when I have felt that I should share my concerns with the APA. But I held back, deciding that it would be a wasted effort to do so given that the Anglo-American philosophers had taken over the organization and were using it as an ideological instrument, like right-wing think tanks, to promote their brand of philosophy to the exclusion of other schools of thought inside and outside the Eurogenic tradition.<sup>12</sup>

But here I am today, having decided to do my personal small bit to nudge the white-dominated APA and the philosophy community to cross the floor to the right side of history. I am doing this—in the form of a long disquisition and, in its own way, meditation on race and racism—because I view it as my pitifully and abjectly inadequate prayer for the soul of George Floyd and for the souls of all the Black and Native American peoples who have been savaged and slaughtered by white settlers in the past and who, today, are being offered paternalistic lip-service gestures by white organizations like the APA.

Sadly, however, I remain convinced that the APA and the philosophy community as a whole will never truthfully tackle and eliminate racism embedded in the APA itself and in the philosophy community at large—and, critically, in the philosophy curriculum—as long as they do not come clean about the racism of the Enlightenment philosophers. They will never completely achieve this goal—assuming that it *really* is their goal—of eliminating racism from the philosophy community as long as they do not come clean about *Immanuel Kant's* racism. Kant is the single most dominant philosopher of the modern era, not just in philosophy departments but in many disciplines across the humanities and social sciences, including international relations and, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the so-called “World Order” studies. Kant’s racism is reprehensible and indefensible, and attempts to defend him and preserve his “saintly” status and reputation serve only to convince me that the APA and the philosophy community are just going through the motions during this (now suddenly) “politically correct” climate because they do not want to be seen as silent and indifferent accomplices to the police departments’ war on America’s black people.

In my view, the philosophy community suffers from a “sincerity deficit.” The white philosophy establishment cannot plead ignorance of the white-dominated police departments’ brutality toward black Americans. The murder of Eric Garner in 2014 was witnessed by millions of people around the world. It is a no-brainer today, quite within the public-relations competence of a sixth-grader, to publish politically correct condemnations of such heinous acts by the police—and to promptly return to the “serious” and “deep” issues in philosophy

---

<sup>12</sup> In March 2015 the APA launched its official journal, *Journal of the American Philosophical Association*. The present essay may be construed as an oblique critique of the journal as an ideological organ of Anglo-American philosophy.

(possible worlds, physicalism, human dignity, and so on) but do nothing about racism in a *practical* way. The APA has at least gone one step further in the case of George Floyd: it has invited its members to contribute material—mostly readings—for an anti-racism database. There is talk of a series of webinars on racism. All this is just *more talk, just more of the same* and reinforces my long-held suspicion that the APA is just going through the motions but does not intend to undertake the *honest* introspection that it badly needs to undertake.

In deciding to present the APA with this long essay, I have acted simultaneously as a realist and as an idealist. The idealist in me is my hopeful and optimistic self that recognizes the capacity for human redemption and redemptive acts. The realist in me looks at the present cultural context in which I find myself, and it pulls me toward pessimism. Why? Because racism in the APA and the wider philosophical community is so deep-lying and so successfully sublimated into noble altruistic universalist philosophical ideas and vocabulary that it has become unrecognizable.

Finally, let me end with a note on the organization of the essay. It consists of two main parts: Part One is devoted to the subject of racism in general and to Kant-Darwin racism in particular. Part Two is focused on Kantians and the philosophy community. I wish to emphasize strongly that I consider Part One to be necessary reading for the philosophy community, for it is designed to reconnect, remind, revive and *return* white philosophers to that world in which lynchings and human zoos were the embodiments of Kant-Darwin racism *par excellence*. Today's white philosophers are blissfully preoccupied with more important topics like multiverses and altruistically engaged in bringing European Enlightenment to the colored peoples of the world. Part One is a prerequisite to Part Two and should be read with the sincerity and keen attention that the subject deserves and not as another pesky diversion that the APA has long resented and to which it has paid lip service.

## THE ESSAY

*This fellow was quite **black** from head to foot, a clear proof that what he said was **stupid**.*<sup>13</sup>

Immanuel Kant

---

<sup>13</sup> My italics. The quote is from his essay, “On National Characteristics, so far as They Depend upon the Distinct Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime.” In Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze (ed.), *Race and the Enlightenment: A Reader*, 1997, p.57.



# Introduction

## Immanuel Kant: Architect of European Race Theory

The dominance of Kant in contemporary philosophy is a recent phenomenon in the Anglo-American world. He had, of course, been part of the modern philosophy curriculum in these countries, but he was not the king he is today. Philosophy departments in the 20<sup>th</sup> century were dominated by movements that came to be labeled Analytic Philosophy (Logical Positivism, Ordinary Language philosophy, Philosophy of Language, etc.). Prior to the rise of Analytic Philosophy in the 1930s, Anglo-American philosophy was dominated by the mathematical and symbolic bent in philosophy whose most celebrated practitioners were Bertrand Russell and Alfred North Whitehead.

Included in the pantheon of the Analytic movements were such immensely influential philosophers as A.J. Ayer, Rudolf Carnap, Ludwig Wittgenstein, Gilbert Ryle and J. L. Austin whose works reached to such distant places like Tanzania<sup>14</sup> where I began dabbling in them as an “A Level” student.<sup>15</sup> These giants were succeeded, in the late 20<sup>th</sup>-century, by another set of eminent philosophers of the caliber of W. V. O. Quine, John Searle, Donald Davidson, Michael Dummett, Daniel Dennett, and others.

During this Analytic hegemony, Immanuel Kant was not entirely absent from the world of Anglo-American philosophy. The Harvard philosopher John Rawls, who ranks among the top neo-Kantian moral and political philosophers in the Anglo-American world, had been a student of Kant’s moral philosophy since the mid-1950s, when he was just starting out on his brilliant philosophy career. He was interested in Kant’s moral philosophy rather than in Kant’s critical studies on reason. Hegel was present too, but, looking back with the benefit of hindsight, I now view his presence in the philosophy curriculum from the perspective of the superpower conflict and the ideological role that the philosophy departments played on behalf of Western civilization under threat from Communism. Hegel with his ideational dialectic was

---

<sup>14</sup> All the major cities of East Africa—Dar es Salaam (Tanzania), Nairobi and Mombasa (Kenya) and Kampala (Uganda) boasted excellent bookstores that carried a wide range of literature whose international scope would compare favorably with some prominent bookstores in Britain, Canada or the US. Bookstores that carried “second hand” books (“used books” in North America) were even more global in their stock. Most of us (high school students) bought our “extra curricular” books from these bookstores. “Extra curricular” topics were topics that were not part of the official British Colonial Office curriculum for the colonies (e.g., Kenya) and territories (e.g., Tanganyika [Tanzania]).

<sup>15</sup> The “Advanced” levels in the British school system are two additional years following twelve years that ended with the “Ordinary” level certification corresponding to Grade 12 in the US and Canadian systems. Whereas in the latter two countries a Grade 12 graduate moves straight to college, in the British (and Commonwealth) system a student aspiring for university education needs to prepare for it by obtaining the A Level diploma.

“our” dog thrown into the ring against Communism’s dog, Karl Marx and his materialist dialectic. Hegel would serve, so it was believed, to forestall American students from succumbing to the powerful arguments of Marx.

What transformed Kant into a ubiquitous presence across all the subdivisions of philosophy today was geopolitics: the dramatic and unexpected collapse, disintegration and disappearance of the Soviet Union that marked the end of the Cold War.

The United States suddenly found itself as the sole superpower in the world. A wave of chest-thumping triumphalism and vindication of Western civilization and its many freedoms swept through the American people and many in Europe. A genre of intoxicated rationality claimed to discern in these momentous world-historical events the culmination of the Western project, most memorably expressed in Francis Fukuyama’s *The End of History* (1990). Fukuyama saw in the collapse of the Soviet Union the defeat of the socialist conception of human nature, human history and human society. Western liberalism, with its sanctification of the individual over the collective, was now left as the only game in town. American elites were unable to check their impulses and promptly elevated America to the status of a “hyper power,” a Goliath version of the gun-toting hyperactive child.

The end of the Cold War coincided with the global reach of American economic and cultural power. This phenomenon was termed “globalization,” but in reality it was the irresistible spread of American power across the globe, made possible by the rise of international communications, transportation, and information technology and the Sword of Damocles—the American war machine—hanging over the world. The extinction of the Soviet Union opened the non-Russian areas of the former Soviet Union to swift inroads by American military and economic power. The former “stans” like Tajikistan that had formed the soft underbelly of the Soviet Union are all in the American camp today, as are the countries of South East Asia. Even China has adopted capitalism in its economic and free-market form without liberalizing its political system. Harvard historian Niall Ferguson’s characterization of China-America relations as Chinamerica is an apt label for the symbiotic relationship that has developed between the two countries since the end of the Cold War.

Sophomoric cheerleaders on behalf of American triumphalism sprouted among the media, led by New York Times columnist Thomas Friedman. To the economic, technological, financial and cultural global spread of American influence they now added the political mission of America: to create a new world order led by the US. What was missing was a transcendently argued, justified and mandated foundation for European and American states to actively press forward with a program of converting the non-Eurogenic world into political liberalism and economic neoliberalism. Columnists like Friedman, themselves intellectually subservient to the philosophers and political scientists, were woefully incapable of discharging this role.

Many in the foreign policy establishment believed that Samuel Huntington's inflammatory book on the "clash of civilizations" presented the West with a justification for dominating the world.<sup>16</sup> Muslims and Muslim states were alarmed by Huntington's harsh observations on Islam. But Muslims and the promoters of the clash thesis grievously misread what Huntington was saying. They missed a central conceptual binary in the book, that between Westernization and modernization.

In Huntington's view, non-Western states like China were adopting those elements of Western civilization that would enable them to revive and promote their ancestral culture without adopting other features like individualism, democracy, human rights, and so on. This was "modernization," not "Westernization." The value systems of each of the major civilizations in Huntington's survey (including African civilization) were irreconcilably antithetical to Western values in a zero-sum way. They all clashed with the values of Western civilization. Islam's clash with Western values was just one instance of the West's clash with what came to be called The Rest. Huntington opposed aggressive American "proactive" military domination of the world. Instead, he wanted the West to adopt a defensive posture aimed at protecting Western civilization within its borders and to stop seeking to impose it on non-Western societies. Promoters and publicists for the euphemistically termed "outreach" to the world were duly disillusioned with Huntington when he turned his attention to the Hispanic population in the US and sounded the alarm that the "American Creed" was under threat by these Catholic Latinos in our midst.<sup>17</sup>

That is where Immanuel Kant came in. Philosophers rediscovered his globalist, universalist and cosmopolitan vision in such writings as *Perpetual Peace* and *Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose*. Kant had developed his ideas on these topics on the basis of the same transcendental principles that lay at the basis of his famous *Critiques* trilogy. There was no one else in the hallowed pantheon of modern Europe's philosophers who came close to Kant in the metaphysical penetration and conceptual coherence of his otherwise disparate writings, from physical geography, anthropology, religion, to the *Critiques*, etc. True, Kant had been evolving in his thinking as he aged, but he consistently sought to ensure that the same foundational metaphysical principles were at the base of his thinking on different topics.

---

<sup>16</sup> *The Clash of Civilizations and the Making of World Order*, 1996.

<sup>17</sup> Huntington's crab-like withdrawal into the American shell is clearly discernible in his book, *Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity*, 2004. The book was a strong plea to Americans to focus their attention and resources on protecting and preserving what he called the "American Creed," a non-religious formulation of the Protestant Creed. Huntington was wary of the authoritarianism of Catholicism. He refused to accept Greece—the birthplace of Europe in Europe's Grand Narrative—as part of the West because of its Orthodox Christianity.

The anointing of Kant as the lead philosopher of the West’s Enlightenment project to non-European peoples—what his supporters call his universalism and cosmopolitanism—has permeated throughout the humanities and social sciences. Kant has undergone an apotheosis, a divinization in which he is revered by his evangelist-philosopher disciples who endorse his vision of the non-European world being led by the Euro-American world toward End Times<sup>18</sup> perpetual peace along Kantian lines.

---

<sup>18</sup> The term “End Times” is not Kant’s term. It is my term to label the end point to which human history is moving.

## PART ONE

### The Kant-Darwin Model Of The Races

# I

## Racism and Racism Studies

**RACISM STUDIES** today is one of the newest and rapidly growing academic disciplines within the supra-discipline of Postcolonial Studies that emerged following World War II. It is a multidisciplinary field of inquiry, overlapping with multiculturalism studies, immigration studies, Indigenous studies, minority studies, human rights studies, women's studies, law enforcement and criminal justice studies, the conventional disciplines (anthropology, psychology, economics, political science, history, philosophy, literature, the sciences, etc.), legal and constitutional studies, journalism and media studies, museum studies, and even religious studies.

The need for a separate discipline for the study of race diachronically (past) and synchronically (present) arose from postcolonial studies. This latter discipline attracted faculty and researchers from the former colonies, and they began to examine the history of imperialism from the perspective of their experiences as subject peoples of the imperial powers. They also re-examined the broad culture of imperialism—so masterfully described and analyzed by Edward Said in his *Culture and Imperialism*—and deconstructed the grand narratives and ideologies that the creative intellectual elites of Europe had carefully crafted to justify and support European imperial ventures.

A central preoccupation of scholars in this discipline is the question, “What is Racism?” The Wikipedia article, “Racism,” defines racism in the very first sentence:

Racism is the belief that groups of humans possess different behavioral traits corresponding to physical appearance and can be divided based on the superiority of one race over another. It may also mean prejudice, discrimination, or antagonism directed against other people because they are of a different race or ethnicity.<sup>19</sup>

The first thing to notice in this definition is its exclusive focus on *belief*. There is no mention of *practice*. Secondly, it speaks only of *behavioral traits* while remaining silent about *intellectual* and *moral* qualities or capacities of the groups. Thirdly, it does not locate the basis of the correspondence between behavior and physical appearance. And finally, the definition does not identify the metric for determining the ranking of the groups along the inferiority-superiority scale.

---

<sup>19</sup> Article “Racism” in Wikipedia. <http://www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Racism>. The first sentence refers to four books or articles on the subject of racism.

The second sentence generalizes the definition given in the first sentence. Here it is sufficient for one race or ethnic group to harbor prejudice, discrimination or antagonism toward another group for these sentiments to be judged racist. The definition is so broad that it effectively includes every ethnic group as potentially a racist group.

This Wikipedia article reflects the ideas of social scientists, especially sociologists and others working within the broad multidisciplinary field of postcolonial studies. It is therefore not surprising that conceptions of race within the Enlightenment tradition are not surveyed in this article.

The omission of Immanuel Kant, the master architect of the most influential European conception of race, is particularly noteworthy. The *sui generis* character of European racism has disappeared completely from this article: where, previously, the genus “racism” contained only European racism, now, thanks to these “equalization” definitional strokes, every ethnic, religious, and cultural group has been inducted into the genus “racism,” so many of them that Kant is buried under them and can no longer be recognized.

Another definition of racism comes from Uppsala University’s program in *Racism Studies*. The two authors of the article on the program’s home page reject “the notion that *racism* always entails notions of *biological race*” because, they argue,

[Racism] predates concepts of biological race by centuries...The biological theory of race was a late addition to the history of racism...whose trajectory varies between different societies and social contexts.<sup>20</sup>

Instead, they offer a reconceptualization of racism:

[Racism’s] fundamental idea of “inherited essence”...[is] embedded in terms such as “culture,” “religion,” and “ethnicity.”

The authors are claiming that culture, religion and ethnicity are different types of “race” because they transmit to their next generation their “essence.”

We are witnessing here the resurrection of the term “essence” and its discredited sibling, “essentialism.” No one in the humanities, social sciences and the sciences uses these terms anymore because of the harm their use has done to the colored peoples of the world. But the

---

<sup>20</sup> “What is Racism?” by Mattias Gardell and Irene Molina, co-directors of the program.  
<https://cemfor.uu.se/Research/what-is-racism-studies/>

authors of “What is Racism Studies?” seem unaware of—or simply dismissive of—the imperial context of the terms “essence” and “essentialism.” These terms came under heavy attack in Edward Said’s landmark book, *Orientalism* (1977), after which it became impossible to use it in an academically respectable way.

The revisionist projects within academia, aimed at “disappearing” the *sui generis* nature of European racism and Kant’s foundational role in it, must confront one inconvenient truth: How is one to explain the unique *practices* of Europeans directed toward non-white peoples of the world. When I say “unique” I mean the sorts of monstrous deeds that Europeans perpetrated on non-white peoples, deeds like lynchings and human zoos exemplified by the photos that I have selected for this essay as representative of European conduct (and of contemporary white police brutality toward African Americans in the US). Where is the theory that explains such deeds?

### **Racism Studies Shift the Focus Away from European Racism**

The diluted definitions being served up by all sorts of racism scholars, including the philosophy establishment, not only do not explain these deeds, they are designed to shift the focus away from European racism and from Kantian race theory. The new conception of “race as culture” (or “culture as race”) and its concomitants—for example, the notion that prejudice toward a culture (hijab, for example) is racism—has taken the focus away from the biological conception of race that was the central principle in colonial policies toward non-European peoples, particularly toward black (sub-Saharan) Africans and Native Americans in the US and Canada.

The terms “race,” “racist” and “racism” are inextricably linked not just to biology but specifically to *skin color*. The motivation to associate skin color with a people’s civilizational capacities began with the Spanish and Portuguese “explorers” and Conquistadores in the Americas and with the Portuguese in West Africa. These Europeans encountered “creatures” that looked like humans but were of different skin color from their own “white” skin color. They also discovered that these human-looking creatures, uniformly, lived in social groupings whose material cultures were far inferior to the civilization of their European societies back home.

There was one other feature of the natives that impressed Columbus: their innocence, ignorance and completely trusting nature. They had no knowledge of iron. When one of them handled a sword, he cut himself with its sharp edge because the natives had not seen a sword before and had no knowledge of edges so sharp that they cut the skin. These attributes of the non-white races would later become an important metric for distinguishing between



the lower, ape-like black and red (Native American) races and the rational, shrewd, self-interested fully developed white European race.

It was one thing for the Spanish to note these differences between white Europeans and colored indigenous Americans. It was another altogether for them to unleash a reign of cruel atrocities on these defenseless peoples and seize their lands. The Spanish perpetrated off-the-scale sadistic atrocities, wanton bayoneting, chopping off of legs of children, rapes and sexual assaults of native girls and women (some as young as nine), and much more which are well attested by eye-witness accounts and are readily accessible on social media.

Such deeds can only be explained by the attitude of Columbus and his accomplices that the natives were wild beasts, not humans. Thus the notion that colored races are not quite human but are actually human-looking beasts that can be treated cruelly and slaughtered like beasts, had already become part of the informed and educated European's general knowledge about the non-white races by Immanuel Kant's time. Kant did not invent this idea. He *formalized* it into his sophisticated theory of skin color and the transcendental<sup>21</sup> grounding of color-indexed intelligence, morality, culture (arts and sciences), etc.

### **Biology is Not the Culprit in Biologically Grounded Conceptions of Race**

The main motive driving racism scholars to abandon biologically grounded conceptions is the experience of Nazism and the Social Darwinist pseudo-evolutionism that ranked the colored peoples according to their distance from the apes. Eugenics was one of the “scientific” disciplines that Hitler and the Nazis admired and adopted. The eugenicists claimed that their theories, in which physical features were indexed to moral and intellectual qualities and capacities, were applicable to races. In reality, of course, they were aimed at the Jews and the Romani. Social Darwinism, on the other hand, was aimed principally at the black people: they argued that the black race was the least evolved and so was more ape-like than human.

That humans differ in their physical features is an obvious empirical fact. Similarly, that they differ in skin color is also an obvious empirical fact. These empirical facts about human physical features do not make them racist. Biological *facts* are not racist! It is the deliberate misuses to which these facts were put in the service of tendentious ideologies that were racist. Charles Darwin's theory of evolution was based on the principle of natural selection. Skin color had no role in his theory. It was the social scientists—ethnologists and anthropologists—who expropriated Darwin's theory about purely biological evolution and coupled it to a moral/intellectual scheme and generated the ranking of human groups on the basis of skin color. Black people were not just black: their black skin pointed inward to their limited moral and intellectual capacities—it pointed to “stunted” evolution. At the top of the

---

<sup>21</sup> The main “transcendental” endowment is human nature (and its “ingredients” like rational, moral and civilizational capacities). More on this later in this essay.

ranking was the white (European) race. The white race had maxed out its evolutionary potentialities in intelligence, morality, civilizational capacity, etc. and were perfect in all dimensions.

### **Primordial Tribes and Indigenous Peoples are Kinship Communities**

The Indigenous peoples of the world are not just aboriginal inhabitants and owners of the lands they live on today, they are all descent-based kinship communities with well-defined social structures into which are embedded their culture and religion. Tribal religion is embedded within tribal kinship structure. A Maasai cannot “convert” to a Sioux Native American by simply adopting Sioux religious beliefs; he needs to be related to the Sioux by blood.

Ethnic communities are also founded on descent although many today have become mixed-blood over time (for example, France). Nationalism in Europe has been predominantly ethnic nationalism. The explosion of ethnic nationalism after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 may have been articulated in terms of the “nation” and its cultural preservation, but at the root of ethnic nationalism is biological descent.

Biology is a constitutive element in Kant’s theory of race. Without it, there is no Kantian theory of race. Removing biology—skin color—would irretrievably distort his theory of race and make it impossible for us to recognize its continuing relevance today (as I show in this essay).

Biology is not the problem. Reading into skin color or other features of the human body intellectual, moral and civilizational capacities, as Kant did, is the problem.

### **Racism and Racialism**

Racism, in its original conceptualization and formulation, is a theory of color-based division of races that was the conceptual framework through which Europeans looked at non-European peoples of the world. It is irrelevant whether this conception has any scientific basis (according to modern science) or whether it is a cultural construct of the Europeans. We know from modern science that the vulgarized Social Darwinian evolutionary and hierarchical scheme adopted by the colonial powers finds no basis in modern biology. We are not concerned with the “truth value” of European imperial conceptions of race. We are concerned, instead, with the fact that *Europeans believed it to be true* and used this conception to subjugate the colored races and treat them like beasts. And as I show below, this Kant-Darwin conception of colored races, false it may be, is still held to be true by large sections of Eurogenic peoples, especially in the US and Canada, where it is entrenched in police departments and other institutions in government and civil society.

The terms “racialism,” “racial,” or “racialist” are mere identifying markers or “tags” for racial, ethnic, colored, religious, and other cultural communities. They do not carry any intellectual or moral evaluations of the “tagged” community. Skin color, for example, was the “tag” used by East African leaders Julius Nyerere, Jomo Kenyatta and Idi Amin Dada to identify the group that had exploited the Africans. None of these African leaders believed that the exploitative nature of the Indians was built into their brown skin. The East African leaders were being *racialists*. They were not being *racists*.

A simple rule for distinguishing between racism and racialism is this: In *racism*, skin color is held to manifest a distinct human nature and its intellectual, moral and civilizational capacities. In racism the “higher” race acts in a degrading and abusive manner toward the “lower” race. In *racialism*, on the other hand, skin color has no such intrinsic connection to the group’s distinct human nature. The statement, “White people are the majority population in Europe,” is a *racial*, not a *racist*, statement.

## II

### European Racism: *Sui Generis*

The European theory of race is *sui generis*. There is nothing remotely comparable to it in the modern era. To fully grasp what imperial Europe meant by “race,” it is not sufficient to study the beliefs and philosophical underpinnings and justifications of European behavior toward non-white peoples. We also need to examine how they *practiced* this racism, and it is their *practice* that decisively sets their racism apart as a *sui generis* concept.

In my view, the term “racism,” if it is to do justice to Africans (and African-Americans, Native Americans, First Nations and the Indigenous peoples of the world), must be reserved for the unique theory of race developed by the colonizing European powers and implemented by them on their colonized populations. It is a serious mistake to believe that this special European form of racism is a thing of the past, having ended with the end of formal political colonialism. European racism today is alive and active in a range of institutional complexes in the Eurogenic countries in their relations with their former colonized subjects (as I show below).

One of the most blatant and easily identified—by non-Eurogenic peoples—examples is the criminal justice and law enforcement institutional complex in the United States. Eurogenic police officers shoot and kill young black men with the kind of nonchalant air that the Kommandant (played by Ralph Fiennes) displays in the film *Schindler’s List*. The parallel does

not end there. The Kommandant is reflecting the worldview of the entire Nazi establishment, not just that of the Nazi military, in which the Jew was dehumanized and transformed into a species that could be hunted and herded into “cages” (concentration camps) and gunned down at will. Instead of facing court martial, the Kommandant acts more like the trophy hunter today who travels to Africa and kills a lion and then poses for a photo with his trophy.

Another example in the US is the institutional racism across several areas of society: banking, real estate, voter registration, electoral gerrymandering, schools, etc. This institutionalized racism is old-fashioned European racism camouflaged in policy and procedures manuals that proclaim themselves as impersonal and objective—“Sir, it’s not me who thinks you are ineligible for a loan. If it were up to me, I’d gladly give you the loan you are requesting. It’s the company’s lending policies. I am simply following these policies. That’s my job.”

At the international level, European racism has morphed into such “International System” organizations as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organization (WTO), the three most powerful global financial institutions that work in lockstep to keep African countries perpetually beholden to them. European racism animates World Bank and IMF development policies intended to keep the black man “in his place” by discouraging industrialization and promoting, instead, an export-oriented agricultural economy that puts African countries at the mercy of the buyer on the commodities market.

European racism also animated American banks to target Africans and entrap them into borrowing large sums of money that they knew these countries would not be able to pay back. The scheme was to use this threat of defaulted payments to wring favorable concessions (to American businesses) out of the beleaguered countries. One favorite concession sought by the banks and obtained by them was in the area of labor laws that stripped all protections from the workers and privileged the foreign investors. Another was the full repatriation of profits from the investments. The net result of such concessions was that the governments could not improve the conditions of the working people nor did they have any access to the profits to reinvest in their development programs.

John Perkins is a whistleblowing former banker at one of the largest banks in the US. In his much-acclaimed book, *Confessions of an Economic Hit Man*, he exposes the scheme of the banks to entrap African countries and perpetually pull them into a type of bonded labor generating billions in profits for American banks and businesses. The core of their scheme is neatly distilled by Perkins:

Economic hit men (EHMs) are highly paid professionals who cheat countries around the globe out of trillions of dollars. They funnel money from the World Bank, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), and other foreign “aid”

organizations into the coffers of huge corporations and the pockets of a few wealthy families who control the planet's natural resources. Their tools include fraudulent financial reports, rigged elections, payoffs, extortion, sex, and murder. They play a game as old as empire, but one that has taken on new and terrifying dimensions during this time of globalization. I should know; I was an EHM.<sup>22</sup>

These entrapment schemes are perfectly consistent with the European racism of the empire builders. The Eurogenic banks and other corporations do not sit down together in the proverbial smoke-filled back room and deliberately plot their schemes. European racism is part of their historical inheritance and is conveyed forward via multiple cultural conduits. Latter-day Eurogenic peoples imbibe this theory of the fundamental incomplete humanity of black people from their families and their high and low cultures.

The mistaken idea that discrimination based on cultural beliefs and practices is racist emerged from the ranks of multiculturalism and its well-meaning theorists and policy advocates. Beleaguered British Muslims, for example, have been subjected to state-initiated discriminatory policies and programs—for example, the notorious PREVENT program in Britain—and to intentionally dehumanizing comments by prominent politicians like (prime minister) Boris Johnson, who called niqāb-wearing Muslim women “letter boxes.” It is eminently reasonable for such communities to seek protection from a definition of culture as race, whereby discriminatory acts against them can now be declared racism. The campaign in several Eurogenic countries to have Islamophobia declared racism is motivated by this search for equal treatment by the state, its legal system and civil society.

European racism is *sui generis*. There was nothing like it in history (Nazi gas chambers, European and American human zoos, lynchings of Blacks in the US, the genocide against Native Americans, etc.).

### **Biblical and Natural Law Justifications: The Spanish in the Americas**

Long before the Enlightenment philosophers (Montaigne, John Locke, Voltaire, David Hume, Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Immanuel Kant) took up the subject of race, Europeans had come into contact with dark-skinned people in the Americas and in South Africa (where the Dutch settled in the 17<sup>th</sup> century).

---

<sup>22</sup> *Confessions of an Economic Hit Man*, John Perkins, 2004. The book has drawn over 1,800 comments on Amazon. Many of these are from development practitioners who provide corroborating experiences across the developing world. The book spent over 70 weeks on the New York Times bestseller list and has been translated into 32 languages. It has been a staple of many college courses.

Christopher Columbus was not certain that the inhabitants of the West Indian islands were humans like him. They looked human, but they did not have civilization as he knew it. At the time, there was no general theory of race that would explain to him why the “red” people were so primitive and so devoid of the arts and sciences in the manner of European civilization.

The opening up of the Americas was followed by the invading Spanish Conquistadores in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The Catholic Pope and the husband-wife duo of Spanish monarchs—King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella—blessed these conquests and urged the conversion of the Indigenous peoples to Catholic Christianity. The lost souls of the Indigenous people had to be saved, and this goal required a well-organized missionary program to convert the heathens. The Conquistadores, however, had no moral qualms about seizing the natives and forcing them to work in their mines and other projects. The natives were worked to death and promptly replaced with fresh Indigenous slaves. Catholic bishops ran the missions and oversaw the work of the missionaries. They witnessed the cruel and heartless treatment of the natives, but even as these hapless slaves were worked to death, the missionaries hurried to convert them and save their souls.

We owe our knowledge of the monstrosities committed by the Spaniards to a remarkable bishop with a stricken conscience: Bartholomew de la Casas.<sup>23</sup> Already by the mid-sixteenth century the natives had come to be viewed by the Spaniards as less than human. De la Casas engaged in a celebrated debate with the Catholic theologian Juan Gines de Sepulveda on the subject of the Indigenous peoples. Sepulveda held the view that the Indigenous people were less than human and needed the civilizing mentorship of the Europeans to become civilized. (This notion, that the Indigenous people were less than human, has been an unbroken thread in Eurogenic culture down to our time—witness the US police departments’ conduct toward African Americans.)

The theological argument favoring the use of physical force against the Indians invoked the Church’s doctrine of Natural Law that St Thomas Aquinas had helped articulate. The doctrine contained the idea of “sin” against Natural Law (no longer against God). Although the Biblical theory of the races does not appear to have formed the basis for justifying the subjugation of the Indians, the Church continued to rely on it, as is indicated by De la Casas’ rebuttal to Sepulveda. In his refutation of the latter’s claim that physical violence against the Indians was

---

<sup>23</sup> The sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein is best known for his studies of the development of the “world system.” But his short and hard-hitting distillation of European self-conceptions of “universalism” is particularly germane for this essay. Wallerstein discusses at length the activities of the Spanish Conquistadores, Bartholomew de la Casas and his theological disputations with the Catholic Church and Juan Gines de Sepulveda. Immanuel Wallerstein, *European Universalism: The Rhetoric of Power*, 2006. Wallerstein’s discourse is very morally charged and does not strike at the root of European conceptions of race, the task to which my present essay is dedicated.

warranted by their “sins” against Natural Law, De la Casas points out that violence was only justified against the Canaanites, an invocation of Noah’s curse.

### III

## European Racism

### The Kant-Darwin Model

The brief survey of the conceptions of race among Europeans before the Enlightenment shows that Europeans had already developed the view of Africans and Indigenous Americans as inferior to them in civilizational and moral capacity long before Kant arrived on the scene.

The Enlightenment was to prove a major stage in the development of a sophisticated, philosophically grounded doctrine of the innate inequality of the races.<sup>24</sup> Nearly all the major members of this elect group offered their ideas on the subject. But no one came close to Immanuel Kant in providing a “nature of things” (ontological) explanation for the different and unequal human natures of the races. In a nutshell, Kant argued that it is the universe itself in the form of Nature (that is present transcendently inside the individual mind) that has endowed the different races with unequal and imperfect human natures.

I name the theory and practice of racism that the European colonial powers and settlers introduced and imposed on the non-European peoples the “Kant-Darwin” theory or model. By “settlers” I refer to the European settlers in the Americas, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and islands like Tasmania.

#### Four Strands in the Formation of the Kant-Darwin Model

There were four major streams of conceptions of race that combined to produce the Kant-Darwin model.

The first was the ancient Biblical tripartite division and hierarchy of humanity represented by Noah’s three sons: Japheth, Sam and Ham. This tripartite division was then sublimated by the intellectual genius of St Thomas Aquinas into the doctrine of Natural Law. The curse of Noah on Ham morphed into defiance of Natural Law, and this defiance constituted punishable “sin” in Aquinas’ doctrine. Enslavement and cruel treatment were the “just”

---

<sup>24</sup> Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze has rendered a valuable service by collecting together in one volume the views on race of some leading Enlightenment philosophers: *Race and the Enlightenment: A Reader*, edited by Eze, 1997.

punishment that the Europeans were required by their Christian theology to mete out to the Africans and Indigenous peoples for *being who they were*: black and red (in Kant's terminology).

The second strand came from Indo-European or Indo-Aryan culture. The Indo-Aryans were a group of peoples originating in what scholars refer to as proto-Indo-Europeans (or proto-Indo-Aryans), a primordial people who lived in the regions just north of and between the Black and Caspian Seas. Branches from this proto-Indo-Aryans migrated to central, western and southern Europe, and to Iran and India. They carried with them their beliefs and practices, especially their languages. This hypothesized "source" people, the proto-Indo-Aryans, no longer exist. Pre-historians and philologists have studied the survivals of Indo-Aryan vocabulary and have been able to track back their paths in European, Iranian and Indian languages. It is these survivals of words in widely scattered cultures that have justified scholars of Indo-Aryan studies in extrapolating backward in time to an origin point and in hypothesizing an origin cultural group, the proto-Indo-Aryans.

A distinctive feature of Aryan culture is the role that a four-fold scheme of colored metals plays in their religion, cosmology and periodization of history.<sup>25</sup> These metals were gold, silver, bronze/copper and iron.<sup>26</sup> They corresponded to a four-fold periodization of their religious history. The Aryans also ascribed moral values to the four metals, with gold representing moral perfection and iron moral imperfection. The most primordial period, when the originating events occurred from which the Aryans emerged, and which was the purest and most perfect period in their history, is represented by gold. The current period, the period during which the Aryans spread out to different regions of the world, including Europe and India, is represented by (black) iron. In the Vedic version of the Aryans' four-fold periodization, the periods are called *yug* (*jug*) and the same metals mark the periods of human history and their moral capacities and achievements. Aryan and, in India, Vedic religion conceives of human history as a history of progressive moral degeneration. The present period, marked by black iron, represents moral degradation and moral corruptibility.

Through their millennial wanderings and fusions with the pre-existing cultures of lands they entered, the Aryans shed whatever of their ancient culture they could not assimilate into the native cultures. But the association of color with moral capacity remained with the Europeans and Indians who, too, retained this conception and brought them to Africa when their latter-day descendants migrated there.<sup>27</sup> By then the colors had been associated with the

---

<sup>25</sup> The famous scholar of religion, Mircea Eliade, describes the Aryan conception of metals in his massive three-volume historical survey of religious beliefs, *A History of Religious Ideas*, translated by Willard R. Trask, 1981-1988.

<sup>26</sup> The Europeans, including Kant, speak of "white" color but they have in mind the blond-gold complexion of their skin and hair. In relation to the other colors, blond-gold was white.

<sup>27</sup> Thus among the Satpanth Ismaili Muslims, the fourth period is marked by clay (*māṭi*) rather than the black iron of the Aryans who migrated to Europe. The Satpanth Ginān (scriptural song) *pabela kirtā jugmāñhe sonānāre ghaṭ* teaches about the four *yugs* and the metals that indexed their moral condition: gold, silver, copper and clay.



caste system and had been strongly reinforced by the British system of the hierarchy of the colored-races: white was the top race, brown the middle race, and black was the bottom race. It was a widely held belief among the Indians—Indian-origin settlers in Africa—that a person with white/fair skin (*dbodkei chamadi*) was a very intelligent, moral and civilized human being.

The third strand was the Enlightenment philosophers' theories about race. Among them Immanuel Kant was the most sophisticated and “philosophical” in grounding the concept of race on transcendental premises. Finally, the fourth strand was Darwin's theory of biological evolution. Prior to the systematization of the theory of race in the second half of the nineteenth century, Europeans had been guided by Biblical and Enlightenment conceptions about race.

Of the four strands that I have identified as flowing into the formation of the Kant-Darwin model, the Aryan association of color with morality remains the most under-studied and speculative. I invoke it here because no other conception of race makes this connection between a human being's skin color and his (or her) intellectual, moral and civilizational capacity.

The Kant-Darwin model of the races expresses the theory of the inequality of the races. The Hindu caste system is also a theory of human inequality. In Africa, the Indian settlers brought with them the Indian caste theory and its practice and, because they had settled in European colonies, they combined their caste conceptions with those of the Europeans and wrought a fusion of the two theories, as I elaborate later in this essay.

### **Kant's Skin-Color Theory of the Races<sup>28</sup>**

I have distilled Kant's writings and those of some key scholars of his theory of race into the following summary that I believe goes to the heart of what Kant was doing in his conceptualization about race.

---

Curiously, the fourth *yug* is called *Kali yug*. There has been much scholarly speculation on the etymology of the word *kali*; some have traced it to the *Atharva Ved* scripture. The word *kala* means “black” and adds to the confusion and intrigue surrounding the origin of the word *kali*. We may note that the Goddess *Kali* is depicted with black skin. If these speculations have any kernel of substance to them, then the European Aryan black color of the fourth metal and the Indian Aryan conception of the fourth *yug*'s association with black color may hold more significance than the current state of Indo-Aryan scholarship can claim. The Ginān referenced here can be accessed at the University of Saskatchewan's outstanding website, Ginan Central:

<http://ginans.usask.ca/concordance/506050>. Transliterations of this Ginān are available at <http://ismaili.net/ginans/transcription/part3/bhg3-052.html> and <http://www.ismaili.net/heritage/node/3881>.

<sup>28</sup> I have drawn on the following writings of Kant for my discussion of his theory of race: *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and the Sublime*; *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch*; *On the Different Races of Man*; *Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose*; *Critique of Practical Reason*; *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View*; and *The Contest of Faculties*. In this task, I have benefited much from the scholarship of Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze, Charles W. Mills, and Robert Bernasconi. I have not been able to read Kant's *Physical Geography*, so I have relied on these scholars for their descriptions of the book and quotes from it.

In my view, if we wish to see clearly “where Kant was coming from” in his speculations about the races of humanity, it is best to set aside the term “race” and its relatives like “racism,” “racist,” and so on. Instead, the place to begin is the undeniable empirical fact that the world’s human populations are marked by differences in skin color. If we take ourselves back to Kant’s day and view these colored peoples from his viewpoint, then what Kant saw was not just human communities distinguished by their skin color, he also saw a correlation between skin color and their civilizational<sup>29</sup> level, a correlation that had first registered strongly on the Spanish Conquistadores and Christopher Columbus and had become part of the popular culture in Europe by Kant’s time.

What stood out, empirically, in this correlation between skin color and civilizational accomplishment was the very low level or near non-existence of civilization of the colored peoples. By “civilization” Kant and his fellow Europeans meant achievements in the arts and sciences and in such areas as technology, urban development, commerce, and complex state systems that included large sophisticated armies, warfare strategies and formations, etc. Of all the colored peoples of the world, the indigenous peoples of the Americas—Kant calls them “Americans”—and those of sub-Saharan Africa were especially noteworthy to Kant for their lack of civilization. To him and to his fellow Europeans, the civilization of the indigenous Americans and of the Africans was empirically inferior to that of the Europeans. They extrapolated this inferior/superior categorization of civilizations to an evaluation of their intellectual and moral capacities and, ultimately, to their human natures.

Prior to Kant, philosophers and theologians had offered their explanations for why these peoples had shown no civilizational accomplishment. All of them, in one form or another, moved from the physical (skin color) into the spiritual (rational and moral capacities). The red skin (indigenous Americans) and black skin (Africans) were external physical manifestations of inferior intellectual and moral capacities, and these inferior intellectual and moral capacities prevented these peoples from creating civilization comparable to that of the Europeans. David Hume, who looms so large in Anglo-American philosophy, could be brief and dismissive of the reds and blacks, but he was just one among the Enlightenment philosophers, thinkers and literati of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries who held these opinions about colored peoples.

Kant was different. He was a very systematic thinker who thought axiomatically, that is, who searched for and laid down foundational principles (axioms) from which and upon which he developed, through immense intellectual concentration and skill, tightly argued and well-integrated conceptual systems. At the center of his concerns was human intellectual/moral

---

<sup>29</sup> I prefer to use the term “civilization” in favor of the term “culture” because it includes the material culture of a people, whereas the term “culture,” especially in cultural anthropology, focuses on the non-material and non-social part of a people’s collective life, that is, on their beliefs and religion in general.

capacity and agency. To Kant, the existence of these capacities in humans—along with the capacity for will and purposive goal-directed action—had to be explained.

Kant knew that humans were a species of animals; they were part of the animal kingdom. Thus he was already familiar with the concept of genera and species that Aristotle had systematized in his biological writings. But humans, even though they were a biological species, were not like the other species. Humans were possessed of reason, moral capacity, will, capacity for moral self-regulation, and so on. How was one to explain the origin of these qualities and their connection with skin color and civilizational capacity? Kant's many writings over his lifetime, and his preoccupation with "metaphysics" and the "transcendental," attest to his search for an answer to this question.

Kant's starting point was his conception of Nature. Nature was not just physical: it was physical as well as spiritual. The human being was a biological species, but his biological makeup reproduced the physical/spiritual duality in Nature, of which he was a part. Just as his body came from Nature, so his soul, his spiritual side, also came from Nature (from its spiritual side). Contemporary philosophers today insist that they are secular humanists who do not acknowledge the existence of a spiritual side in Nature and in the human being, but Kant did, and it is committing a grave injustice to Kant to disregard his belief in the existence of the spiritual/intelligible world alongside the physical world. (Indeed, he even wrote a treatise on this duality in the universe.<sup>30</sup>)

It was this soul part of the human being that distinguished him from the other animal species, and it was the soul part that constituted the human nature of the human species. Reason, moral capacity, character, talent, feeling, art and science, and so on, all these were components or facets of human nature, "gifts," as Kant would say, of Nature. We should not lose sight of this simple but foundational idea in Kant whenever we find him using terms such as "metaphysics," "metaphysical," and "transcendental." In his conceptual scheme, "metaphysics" refers to the external spiritual part of Nature, while "transcendental" refers to the spiritual part of Nature that is internal to the human individual and is there as an endowment—a gift—from Nature.

We now come to a key conceptual move by Kant. The several capacities of soul that Nature gifts to humans are not equal. They differ in respect of rational, moral, civilizational, and other constituents of human nature, and these differences lead to the emergence of populations which collectively exhibit these differences between them. For example, Africans are ruled by their passions and emotions and have limited learning capabilities (Kant states that they can be trained to be servants and slaves, but not more). Indigenous Americans, on the other hand,

---

<sup>30</sup> *Dissertation on the Form and Principles of the Sensible and the Intelligible World*, 1770. Kant submitted and successfully defended this thesis and was appointed Full Professor of Logic and Metaphysics at the University of Königsberg.

possess no rational capacity at all. Thus, in this way Nature endows different human populations with different capacities. And because these capacities are part of human nature, the human natures of these populations also differ from group to group, from Africans to Indigenous Americans, and so on.

But what is the basis for the correlation between these different human natures and skin color? Kant was “impressed” by this correlation. That is, this correlation had registered on him and posed a question that he had to answer. On one side was human nature, which was transcendental in origin and not physical (being a spiritual endowment of Nature), and on the other side was skin color, which was physical (bodily) in origin. How was one to link the *transcendental* with the *biological*?

Kant’s concept of *Keime* (seed, germ) is the answer. *Keime* is at once transcendental and biological. It contains within itself the capacities as potentialities that become actualized as the individual (and the population group to which the individual belongs) interacts with the environment. In their physical aspect, skin color is the most accurate correlate of the specific human nature of a population. *Keime*, thus, is the link between (transcendental) human nature and (physical) skin color.

Skin color is simultaneously the external physical manifestation of the specific human nature (of a population) and the accurate “reference back” pointer from the outside to its corresponding specific human nature on the inside. Some scholars<sup>31</sup> have drawn attention to the fact that Kant took a keen interest in animal husbandry and breeding. The purpose of breeding was to produce sub-species of animals with predefined qualities. In Kant’s case, Nature was the “breeder” that produced different human sub-species with “pre-defined” (by Nature) qualities, that is, human natures.

Thus the correlation between skin color and human nature is also a one-to-one correspondence, or mapping, between the biological sub-species (black colored, red colored, etc.) and the transcendental “sub-species” of human nature (black human nature, red human nature, etc.). Just as human nature (as part of soul) is a principle of Nature, so is skin color a part of Nature. Without both sides of the equation being principles of Nature, Kant would not have been able to connect the permanence and unchangeability of skin color to the permanence and unchangeability of the human nature of the specific “sub-species” (black humans, red human, etc.).

---

<sup>31</sup> For example, Mark Larrimore, “Antinomies of Race: Diversity and Destiny in Kant,” *Patterns of Prejudice*, Volume 42, Numbers 4-5, 2008, pp 341-363.

To understand the special status of European people and their civilization in Kant's thought, it is useful to turn to the biological concept of *genus* (plural, *genera*) with which Kant was familiar. Kant calls the original stock from which the different "races" developed *STEM genus*.<sup>32</sup> He is aware that, biologically, humans are one species, but in order to allow for color-based differentiation within this species, he refers to the original stock as "human genus"<sup>33</sup> within which the four colored races emerge—white, yellow, red, and black. The original STEM genus, Kant says, "we must declare it now extinct."<sup>34</sup> The closest of the four races to the original STEM genus is the white race, so Kant treats the white race as *de facto genus* for the other three colored populations. In effect, the three colored populations are species of this white genus. Already, in seeking to place the white population in a different category from the other three, Kant is underlining the special status and role for white Europeans in Nature's scheme.

The human nature that Nature endows Europeans with is a *generic* human nature. The human natures of the sub-species (blacks, reds, etc.) are species of this generic human nature. On the color side, white is a generic color of which black, red and yellow are species (in Kant's scheme). White is certainly a color, the way the generic human nature is certainly human nature, but it differs from the other colors in being their genus, just as the generic human nature differs from the other human natures in being their genus. This is another correspondence between the transcendental and physical parts of the human being.

Just as, in biology, speciation can be construed as degenerative in that the species is deficient in those attributes that make the genus "complete" and "perfect," in the same way "speciation" of the genus of human nature is degenerative in that the species lacks the attributes that make the (European) genus human nature complete and "perfect." On the color side, "speciation" of the genus white color is degenerative in that the colors (black, red, yellow) lack the attributes that make the genus white color complete and "perfect."

We now come to the heart of Kant's theory about the link between skin color, human nature and civilizational capacity. In the case of the other species of animals (dogs, horses, etc.) their genus, "animal," does not actually exist in the world. Only species exist. The genus is a conceptual construct (thanks to Aristotle)—it is an epistemological concept only. But the remarkable feature of Kant's conceptualization of the speciation of human nature is that in his scheme the genus human nature, now in the form of the white population, actually exists in the world—it is epistemological as well as ontological in concept *and reality*.

---

<sup>32</sup> "On the Different Races of Man," in Emmanuel Eze (ed.), *Race and the Enlightenment*, 1997, pp. 47-48.

<sup>33</sup> "On the Different Races of Man," p. 47.

<sup>34</sup> "On the Different Races of Man," p.47.

Nature in her infinite inscrutable wisdom chose the white European peoples as the recipients of the genus human nature and genus white color. Their *Keime* was made up of this coupling of the perfect human nature and the perfect white skin color. The human nature of Europeans, being perfect, includes the perfection of their rational, moral, civilizational (arts and sciences) and other capacities like behavioral self-regulation and, at the political level, republican self-government. The white Europeans are the only people that Nature has seen fit, in her wisdom, to gift them with full Reason, Practical Reason and Understanding. The other sub-species have not been gifted these capacities in as complete a form as it has gifted the white people. (The three rational faculties are, as I argue later in this essay, one and the same but in different modes.)

Nature has favored—“elected” in the Protestant sense—the white European peoples with these perfections because it has also chosen them to lead the other sub-species to the End Times. This End Times is marked by perpetual peace and mutual harmony among white and colored peoples, a peace brought about by the altruistic and benevolent stewardship of the Europeans who will have formed a federation of peer-level European republics by then. Kant’s ideas about perpetual peace, cosmopolitanism, hospitality, and so on are all intimately linked to his foundational linking of human nature and skin color.

## **Bedrock of Kant’s Raciology**

### **Human Nature–Skin Color Coupling**

The human nature-skin color coupling is the heart of Kant’s philosophical system. Once we have grasped the bedrock foundational role of the human nature-skin color coupling in Kant’s thought and have acknowledged the Nature-bestowed *sui generis* status and authority of the white European peoples, we can trace out how Kant’s thought “spawns” from this bedrock. For example, the principle of *teleology* is built into this bedrock coupling, so that later, in his *Universal History*, when Kant invokes Nature’s teleological character, he can speak, with conceptual consistency, of Nature’s “purposiveness” and “design” in steering human history toward the envisaged End Times. The principle of teleology also enables Kant to connect his ideas in *Perpetual Peace* with his ideas in *Universal History* via the principle of hospitality.

That Nature has a built-in principle of teleology is not hard to discern. Nature endowed the white Europeans with perfect human nature because she had a “plan” for them: they were to be the leading or cutting edge of human history, tutoring the less endowed colored populations in civilization and directing them forward toward the End Times that Nature has planned.

The bedrock coupling and the perfect human nature assigned by Nature to white Europeans shows that the writings of Kant that have traditionally dominated the philosophy establishment and the curriculums of the philosophy departments in Eurogenic universities are in reality *intra-European conversations*, debates, polemics, disagreements, etc. Kant's entire color-based grading of Reason was intended to deny the colored peoples untrammelled access to Reason; for, if all colored peoples were endowed equally with Reason, Practical Reason and Understanding, that is, with the same human nature that the white Europeans possessed, what purpose would Nature be serving by constructing a hierarchy of colored peoples?

The human nature-skin color correspondence compels us to reassign the *Critiques* trilogy and other "foundational" works of Kant to the *intra-white European* domain.<sup>35</sup> These works are not "universal," that is, they are not intended for the colored peoples,<sup>36</sup> especially the black-skinned African and the red-skinned Native American. Kant's well-known ideas about autonomy, freedom, Enlightenment, dignity, and the Categorical Imperative—even hospitality and cosmopolitanism—all these are *intra-white European* talk as befits a people charged with the mission to lead the lower colored peoples to End Times "salvation."

The preceding discussion can now be understood as an act of unveiling in which I have pulled away the lexicon of race and exposed the substance that the terminology of race and racism conceals. The focus on the lexicon of Kant's "raciology" inadvertently steers Kantian philosophers away from a focus on his views about skin color and human nature toward their attempts to construct a *general theory* of race and racism, to see racism in every age and culture. In the following discussion, I have kept to this lexicon because it is very dominant in contemporary discourse and practice in Eurogenic countries, and because of my intention to expose the Kantianism that is present in some major sectors and institutions of Eurogenic societies, especially the United States.

---

<sup>35</sup> The most common works of Kant in this intra-white conversation are: *Prolegomena to Any Future Metaphysics*; "An Answer to the Question: What Is Enlightenment?"; *Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose*; *Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals*; *Religion within the Bounds of Bare Reason*; *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch*; and *Metaphysics of Morals*. Kant's deep preoccupation with Reason and its (abortive) theological efforts in the *Critique of Pure Reason* may be traceable to the Scholastic theology of the medieval Catholic Church. A stream among Lutherans—exemplified by Christian Wolff, Kant and, more recently, Adolf Harnack (d. 1912)—appears to me to be continuing to solve riddles presented by Scholastic speculative theology. The American evangelist and fundamentalist Protestants are not interested in any form of intellectualization of their faith comparable to the preoccupations of Kant and Harnack.

<sup>36</sup> "To a high degree we are, through art and science, *cultured*. We are *civilized*—perhaps too much for our own good—in all sorts of social grace and decorum." Kant's "we" here does not include the colored races. He means by it only the European race. Last paragraph of the Seventh Thesis. The italics are in the English translation by Lewis White Beck. From Immanuel Kant, "On History," The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1963. Transcribed by Rob Lucas. Available at <https://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/ethics/kant/universal-history.htm>.

## The Core Elements of the Model

Before I undertake an in-depth discussion of Immanuel Kant's theory of race and its coupling with Darwin's theory of evolution, I will summarize the core elements of the model below.

- Humans are divided into *races*.
- These races are divided by *skin color*: white, yellow, red and black.
- The white race is the European race. The yellow race comprises the Asian and Arab peoples (Indians, Arabs, Chinese, Japanese, Polynesians, etc.). The black race refers to the inhabitants of (sub-Saharan) Africa. Finally, the red race refers to the Indigenous peoples of the Americas.
- The four races are divided not just by skin color but more fundamentally by the principle of *inequality*. The races are unequal in their *human nature*.
- The human natures of the races are unequal because they have been incompletely or imperfectly endowed by Nature (represented inside the mind as *transcendental* human nature).
- The inequality in the human natures of the races establishes a *hierarchy* based on the *degree* of their inequality. The fullest and most complete race is the one whose human nature is complete to the fullest degree from the get-go. This perfect race is the white European race.
- The race that is the most deficient and incomplete, even lacking, in human nature, occupies the bottom position in the hierarchy. This race is the black race (although for other traits the bottom race is the red (Native American) race).
- Skin color is an intrinsic external expression of human nature. The race with the perfect human nature develops white skin, whereas the race that is the least perfect or lacking in human nature develops black skin.
- Thus the races of humankind form a racial hierarchy that reflects and expresses the degree of human-ness and its corresponding skin color.
- Some extreme Social Darwinian versions of black human-ness relegate the black race to the apes, outside the human races because they do not possess any human-ness.
- The inequality of human natures of the races corresponds to inequality in endowed rational, moral and civilizational (arts and sciences) capacities. The white race is endowed with the fullest intellect (Reason), whereas the black race is endowed with weak rational and moral capacities and no civilizational capacity. The intermediate races are endowed with a degree of rationality corresponding to their human nature.
- Importantly, then, because skin color is the biological expression of transcendently endowed human nature, and this human nature comprises intelligence, moral sense and capacity for arts and science, therefore skin color is the biological expression of transcendently endowed rationality, moral sense and civilization capacity.



- Critically, then, there is a coupling of the *transcendental* principles and their *biological* (bodily) expression within the individual. Although Kant does not explain how a purely spiritual and transcendental principle can join together or couple with the physical body of the human being, he has already assumed such a coupling in his conception of Nature as simultaneously spiritual and physical.
- The inequality in intellectual and moral capacities of the races is integrally linked to inequalities in the control or mastery over their *emotions*. The white race, being the most perfect rationally and morally, exercises the fullest regulatory authority and control over its emotions. Reason and Practical Reason are emotion-less.
- The black race, lacking or severely deficient in rationality and morality, exercises the least regulatory authority or control over its emotions. Thus the white race is the least swayed by its emotions, whereas the black race is overwhelmed by its emotions.
- The white race, fully developed in every department of life, is the only race capable of *self-government*. The lower races are incapable of self-government. Before Darwin published his theory of evolution, John Stuart Mill—a darling of liberals and feminists—had argued that (Sub-Continent) Indians were incapable of representative government, let alone self-government. They would need British guardianship in governance, that is, imperial tutelage. (John and his father James Mill were long-serving bureaucrats in the East India Company.)
- Finally, there are two versions of *supremacism* and *eliminationism* in the Kant-Darwin model. The Kantian version is *cultural*, while the Social Darwinian version is *biological*. Kant's vision for End Times perpetual peace requires the elimination of all non-European (Eurogenic) cultures, languages, religions, ethical systems, and so on. White European supremacism is a Nature-mandated necessary precondition for this goal to be attained. In the Social Darwin version, elimination is the physical extermination of the Yellow, Black and Red races as the solution to preserving European civilization for the white race. The Nazi war on the Jews was an example of the elimination of the Yellow (Jews) race; the European settlers in the Americas, Australia and New Zealand attempted a full-scale genocide of the Red (Indigenous) races; and the European colonial powers practiced numerous small-scale physical elimination of Blacks in Africa. Today, this noble mission is being continued by the American police departments.

### **Kant's Formalism**

It is fitting that Kant should be the philosopher who thought deeply and systematically about race and introduced concepts (or clarified existing ones) into what can, with justice, be called a *formalism*. Other Enlightenment thinkers, Hume for example, are 12<sup>th</sup> graders compared to Kant's immense conceptualizing power.

A formalism puts a theory on firmer axiomatic foundations and enables us to see connections in the empirical world that we otherwise might not see. A formalism also enables us to work out or extrapolate the theory to other areas of the empirical domain in a predictive way so that we are enabled thereby to look at the theory in a new light. In physics, a formalism is an axiomatic mathematical system that is a model *of* and a model *for* the atoms in the empirical world. Let me give an example from physics: Lord Rutherford's planetary model for the structure of the atom.

Lord Rutherford's planetary model for the structure of the atom was a major turning point in the history of science. It explained the structure of every atom in the universe, not just on Earth. Physicists and chemists began using it in their theoretical and experimental work. As they did so, they hit upon a problem with the model. Rutherford had placed the electrons in the role of planets circling the sun (the nucleus). But the electrons are charged particles. A moving charged particle gives off its energy in the form of radiation. The electrons in Rutherford's model would eventually lose all their energy and collapse into the nucleus. Yet the atom is a stable entity. How was one to explain that the electron does not lose its energy even as it moves?

Werner Heisenberg's quantum principle solved the dilemma. There are specific orbits from which an electron will not emit radiation and in which it will remain stable. Heisenberg's refinement of Rutherford's model was then given an axiomatic mathematical formalization by Erwin Schrödinger and, later, by Paul Dirac. Physicists could now work with the formal model and, through mathematical analysis, draw out other features of the atom that they could then test experimentally.

Kant's formalism, on the analogy of physics, consisted in solving a dilemma that, in his view, previous philosophers had faced but not solved in their theories of race. Just as Heisenberg's quantum idea solved the problem posed by the stability of the atom, so Kant "solved" the problem of race by anchoring existing speculations about race to a transcendental source: the *soul* part of Nature. Kant then proceeded to work out other implications of his model of race—human perfectibility, historical development, cosmopolitanism, perpetual peace, the special "cosmic" role of the white European race, and so on.

Formalism in physics is *descriptive* of the empirical reality it models; it is not *normative* (or *prescriptive*) for this empirical reality. Schrödinger's model describes the structure and behavior of atoms. It does not prescribe *to the atoms* how they ought to be structured or how they ought to act. It is not a moral system for the atoms. And the atoms, in turn, do not take their marching orders from Schrödinger's model. They do not say to each other, "Geez, I had no idea this is how I should behave as an atom! But now thanks to Schrödinger, who has accurately depicted who I am, I will follow his prescriptions."

Kant's formal theory of race, too, is a *descriptive* model for the races as he found them in the empirical world. He is not telling fellow white Europeans anything new about the colored races. They already held, in an unsystematic way, the core ideas that Kant formalized into a transcendently grounded theory of colored-based ranking of the races. This descriptive aspect of Kant's model is very important in my discussion of the contemporary instances of his model (Hillary and Bill Clinton, the US police departments, *The Bell Curve* book, and so on). The "players" in these examples are not taking their prescriptive marching orders from Kant. They are, instead, in their words and actions, evidences of the "truth" of Kant's model.

Mathematical formalism in physics allows physicists, especially theoretical physicists, to "forget" the empirical world and work on the mathematics only. The new results then become predictions of events in the empirical (phenomenal) world. In the case of Kant, one very important question we can pose for his cosmopolitanism and ideas on hospitality is this: What would be Kant's position on contemporary immigration of colored races into Europe? What would be his position on foreigners who show up at Europe's borders and ask for asylum?<sup>37</sup> Would he extend hospitality<sup>38</sup> to them and welcome them into his homeland? Kant also said that any resident of the world can move into a plot of land that is not already inhabited. There are many areas in Europe that are not inhabited. Can a Tanzanian come to Europe and enter these areas—the Black Forest?—and settle in them?

My answer to these "predictive" questions is that in each case Kant would be opposed to non-whites coming into Europe. He would definitely be against immigration of the sort we are witnessing today, and he would be supportive of European governments like Hungary, Greece, Poland and others that have implemented policies to keep out colored immigrants.

But humans are not will-less atoms. Thus Kant's theory of the races includes a *prescriptive* side as well. The people for whom Kant prescribes how they should think and act are different from the people who are already Kantian in their thinking and actions (US police departments, etc.). The prescriptive component of Kant's model is aimed at European states and fellow Europeans whom he has tasked with leading all of humanity toward an End Times state of perpetual peace on Earth. Among these fellow Europeans are today's Kantian philosophers in Eurogenic philosophy departments who are evangelizing (to colored people like myself) his prescriptions for world unity and everlasting peace. Thus, in this essay, I also undertake my own, perhaps idiosyncratic and provocative, analysis of some of Kant's prescriptions that reveal hitherto unrecognized features of his model.

---

<sup>37</sup> "This right to present themselves to society belongs to all mankind in virtue of our common right of possession on the surface of the earth." This statement comes from the "Third Definitive Article for Perpetual Peace," in *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Essay*, 1795. Translated by M. Campbell Smith, 1903, Third Impression, 1907, p 138.

<sup>38</sup> *Perpetual Peace*, p 137.

## Race, Reason and Practical Reason

One of the most astonishing facts about contemporary Kantian studies is the confusion surrounding Kant's term and concept of Reason (*Vernunft*).<sup>39</sup> Anglo-American philosophers in general, and Kantian philosophers in particular, cannot restrain themselves from conflating their modern term "reason" with the English translation of the German word used by Kant, *Vernunft*, translated by William Kemp-Smith as "Reason." Kemp-Smith's use of "reason" for *Vernunft* sucked Kant's concept of *Vernunft* into Anglo-American conceptualizations of the English word *reason* that has its own history going back to Scholastic theology of the medieval Catholic Church.

A quick visit to the online *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*<sup>40</sup> or the *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*<sup>41</sup> readily testifies to this conflation of Kant's "reason" with Anglo-American philosophers' "reason." When these articles, echoing the dominant view among philosophers, address Kant's "reason," they actually deal with Kant's concept of Understanding (*Verstandes*), the faculty that works with the senses and constructs our knowledge of the empirical world.

Another confusion relating to the term "reason" is Kant's concept of "Practical Reason." Anglo-American philosophers invariably depict it as a separate, third "faculty" after Reason and Understanding—indeed, the very term "faculty" unavoidably suggests its difference from other "faculties" like the Understanding. Practical Reason deals with human actions (ethics) whereas the Understanding deals with knowledge of the world acquired via the senses. Unquestionably, modern Kantian studies portray Kant as having held and taught that there are three separate and autonomous centers or faculties of "reason" within the human mind; and when they do not insist on this tripartite conception of the cognitive system, they fail to clarify that all three "reasons" are in fact one "reason" in the *Critique*.

Kant himself has clarified that all three "reasons" (Reason, Understanding and Practical Reason) are one and the same Reason:<sup>42</sup>

[There] can, after all, in the end be only one and the same reason that must be differentiated merely in its application.

---

<sup>39</sup> The remarks on Kant which follow are necessarily brief given the context of the present essay. I will present a fuller treatment in the book on Kant that I am working on which re-examines his philosophy from several new angles.

<sup>40</sup> There are numerous articles that deal with Kant's theory of reason. I am referring to the article, "Kant's Account of Reason," accessible at <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/kant-reason/>

<sup>41</sup> See the article "Immanuel Kant," accessible at <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/kant-reason/>

<sup>42</sup> *Groundlaying toward the Metaphysics of Morals*, 1786, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, p xiv. Accessible at [http://groundlaying.appspot.com/html/gms1786v\\_scholar\\_styled\\_white.html](http://groundlaying.appspot.com/html/gms1786v_scholar_styled_white.html)

In other words, there is only one Reason (*Vernunft*) in the human mind but this Reason has two *modes*. When Reason engages with the sensible world (the world of “phenomena”) via the five senses, then Reason adopts the mode of Understanding (*Verstandes*). On the other hand, when Reason (*Vernunft*) engages with human actions and conduct, it adopts the mode of Practical Reason (ethics)—moral Reason.

“Pure” Reason, the subject of the *Critique of Pure Reason*, is the mode of Reason in which it is engaged neither with the empirical world nor with human actions, that is, when it is not dealing with ontology or ethics. It is all by itself, on its own, left to itself, alone, etc. The translation of the German word *reinen* into “pure,” “alone” or “mere” has contributed much to the confusion surrounding just what Kant meant by this word *reinen*. “Pure” Reason is Reason when it is not dealing with the external world of things (*phenomena*) or with human actions. There is only one Reason (*Vernunft*) and two *modes* of it, Understanding and Practical Reason. Reason in its own mode, if one wants to think this way, is Pure Reason, *reinen Vernunft*.

### Language, Thought and the Inferior Races

A second astonishing fact about Kant’s philosophy is that Kant does not discuss the role of language in his theory of Reason. He does discuss natural languages in his other works, but only as obstacles to the efforts of Practical Reason as it seeks to establish its moral authority (ethics) over the historically evolved norms (virtues) of the world’s cultures.<sup>43</sup> Natural languages encode and express these culture-specific virtue-systems. These languages must be replaced by the pure language of Practical Reason—the vocabulary developed by Kant in German—as a necessary concomitant to replacing the cultural virtue systems so that his cosmopolitan vision for humanity will be realized.

There is another objection that Kant had to natural languages: their beliefs about the nature of reality are constructed by “native” minds whose rational capacities are defective and lead to false understandings about the world. These beliefs are not the outcome of the Understanding but of the imperfect rationality of the lower races. Just as it would be necessary to replace the virtue system of a natural language with the ethics of Practical Reason, so it would be necessary to replace the belief (ontological) systems of a natural language with the scientific reason, Understanding, that is competent to engage with the external empirical reality (*phenomena*) and build scientific knowledge.

---

<sup>43</sup> Kant distinguishes between “ethics” and “virtues.” For him, *ethics* is the moral system of Practical Reason centered on the individual’s voluntary execution of the duties imposed by Practical Reason—the individual is being *ethical*. *Virtue* in Kant’s thought represents the norms of the cultural community and is, in that sense, akin to Aristotle’s concept of virtue. I will develop these brief remarks in a separate article on Kant.

When Kant speaks of natural languages, he has in mind the languages of the inferior colored races. He is not overly worried about European natural languages. This is because even though these natural languages, like the natural languages of the colored peoples, are based on faulty rational and moral premises, they are the natural languages of Europeans who have been endowed with perfect rational and moral capacities that can be enlightened—by Kant—to activate the Understanding and Practical Reason that each European has within himself. In this way Kant would, if Europeans adopted and acted upon his ideas, successfully establish the ethical reign of Practical Reason among fellow Europeans and prepare them for the task of mentoring the inferior races toward the distant universal cosmopolitan world community.

### *Perpetual Peace* and *Universal History* are Consistent with Kant's Raciology

Kant is quite clear that European tutelage of the inferior races will be perpetual, and in his *Universal History* he stops short at “purpose” and does not claim that the end state will be fully realized. Both these remarks presuppose his race theory and the central role Practical Reason plays in it.

An aspect of the innate inferiority of the colored races is that Practical Reason is either absent from them or has been imperfectly endowed to them. Only Europeans, the perfect and universal race, are endowed with Practical Reason. Europeans will be guided in their mentoring of the inferior races by their Practical Reason. They will be the lung machine supplying oxygen (Practical Reason) to the “sick” colored races whose own lungs—their imperfect human nature and rationality—cannot breathe fully on their own.

### European Universalism is the Same as Universalism

Kant believes that European civilization is the only true universal civilization. This universality, however, does not extend across the globe to all the cultures of the world. It is restricted to Europe for now. In due course—this is Kant's faith—the trajectory of history, directed by the Europeans, will lead the lower races to increasingly adopt European civilization. This historical development will be “universal” in the sense that all inferior races will increasingly shed their culture and adopt European culture and become monocultural.

There are two senses of “universal” in Kant's usage. The first sense is that of the European civilization of his day. Even though it is a specific civilization existing on the European landmass, it is the only fully developed civilization among the world's cultures and civilizations. And since, among the races of humankind, Europeans are the perfect race, their civilizational achievements cannot be improved upon either by Europeans themselves or by another, inferior race. In other words, European civilization is the standard which the other races have to attain and become European in civilization if not in skin color. European

civilization is thus already universal in its “maxed-out” achievements. All that needs to happen now is for this “universal for itself” civilization to spread all over the world and become “universal for all” races.<sup>44</sup>

### European Philosophy is the Same as Philosophy

A component or subset of the European and Kantian idea that European universalism is the same as universalism is the idea that European (Eurogenic) philosophy is the same as philosophy. Whereas we speak of “Jewish philosophy,” “African philosophy,” “Islamic/Arabic philosophy,” “Chinese philosophy,” “Indian philosophy,” and so on, we *do not need to* speak of “European philosophy” because “European philosophy” is the same as “philosophy.” Of course, when we examine the *contents* of “European philosophy,” we find that it starts with the Pre-Socratics and develops through classical Greek philosophy, Roman philosophy through Medieval philosophy to modern European philosophy that the Eurogenic peoples as far away as New Zealand “practice” as “professional” philosophers. The *particularity* of “European philosophy” is merely a matter of geography and of the contingencies of social history.

The Pre-Socratics, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics, and others all the way down to Martha Nussbaum in the US and Peter Singer in Australia in our day, are physical embodiments of “philosophy”: the rationality and moral capacities of the particular individuals who embodied “philosophy” were perfect rationality and moral capacities. This cannot be acknowledged of other traditions of philosophy: they were all rationally and morally wanting and had, therefore, to be qualified as “Jewish,” “Chinese,” “Islamic,” etc. to indicate this shortcoming. In each case, rational and moral capacities were tainted by religion or culture, which in turn were Nature-endowed limitations indexed in skin color.

Thus we find that the American Philosophical Association (APA) responded to the George Floyd and Black Lives Matter protests by inviting its members to suggest reading material on anti-racism on various topics that the philosophy community covers in its curriculum.<sup>45</sup> Its “Diversity and Inclusiveness Syllabus Collection” lists the subjects for which the APA invited contributions. There are several subjects named “Philosophy of ...”: for example, “Philosophy of Race,” “Philosophy of Gender,” “Philosophy of Religion,” “Philosophy of Sex and Love,” and so on. The list also includes “Jewish Philosophy” and “Indigenous Philosophy.” These qualifiers show indubitably that the “philosophy” they have developed is

---

<sup>44</sup> I have already referred above (Footnote 23) to Immanuel Wallerstein, *European Universalism: The Rhetoric of Power*, 2006. Wallerstein distills the main elements of the Europeans’ view of themselves that European universalism was the same as universalism.

<sup>45</sup> “Diversity and Inclusiveness Syllabus Collection,” The American Philosophical Association. [[https://www.apaonline.org/members/group\\_content\\_view.asp?group=110430&id=380970](https://www.apaonline.org/members/group_content_view.asp?group=110430&id=380970)]

inferior to pure “Philosophy,” and this pure “Philosophy,” even though it is historically Eurocentric, is the same as universal philosophy because the “Euro” in Eurocentrism is identical to the universal. What this means in practice is that whenever a Eurogenic philosopher—Immanuel Kant, Martha Nussbaum, John Rawls, and others—think, their thinking is the thinking of their Pure Reason, Understanding and Practical Reason. The European philosopher may be an embodied Reason but this embodiment in no way hobbles the Pure Reason from functioning perfectly, just as Nature intended it to, inside the European body.

Kant, bless him, was “chosen” by Nature—as a European counterpart to Muhammad being chosen (*muṣtafāʾ*) by Allah—to be Nature’s emissary who “reveals” to his fellow Europeans (as Muhammad “revealed” to his fellow Arabs) that their bodies will in no way pollute the purity of their Reason, that their bodies are “immaculate” and it is this “immaculate” body—a very particular thing in the world of physical things—that is the basis for the European “particular” being also “universal.” Europeans thus regard Kant with the sort of reverence that believers regard their supreme religious figures. This “particular = universal” equation afflicts Muslims too. They believe that Muhammad’s body, the particular, in no way trammes the flow of Allah’s communication to him, which he delivered to his fellow Arabs in an “as is” untainted form. Muhammad’s body was a conduit for Allah’s message. So was Kant’s body a conduit through which Reason “revealed” to Kant the message to his fellow Europeans which he articulated in his “scripture,” *The Critique of Pure Reason*.

This “scripturalist” attitude that philosophers adopt toward Kant and his writings exhibits another instructive parallel with religions, namely, that the believers in a specific religious tradition do not seek for moral and salvific guidance outside the confines of their scripture and the teachings of their founder—for example, the Qur’an and Hadith in the case of Muslims. Philosophers and believers alike thus find unsuspected comradeship in regarding their respective founding “sources” as necessary and sufficient. This “necessary and sufficient” attitude among Eurogenic philosophers is exemplified by courses on “Philosophy of Religion”: they invariably include the writings of Immanuel Kant on religion but not those of the great Muslim philosopher Abu Nasr al-Farabi even though Al-Farabi’s theory of religion is a very general and universal theory than the parochial Protestant-centered “philosophy of religion” of Kant.<sup>46</sup>

Eurocentric philosophy is claimed by Eurogenic philosophers to be universal but its *practice* is parochial, and the *practice* is parochial because the *reality* is parochial. It is no more universal than is Jewish philosophy or Indian philosophy or Chinese philosophy.

---

<sup>46</sup> Al-Farabi defines religion in a cultural anthropological manner: it is applicable to any religion, ethnic, racial, linguistic and national group. It is vastly more general—*universal*—than the parochialism of Kant’s *Religion Within the Bounds of Reason Only*.



## Kant's Cosmopolitanism

Kantian cosmopolitanism has been music to Eurogenic elites, for it envisions and calls for the spread of European civilization (Western civilization) to the non-white races. I have sketched above the conceptual web linking race, Practical Reason, perpetual peace and universal history. It remains now for me to fit into this conceptual web Kant's ideas about cosmopolitanism.

We note that the title of his tract on universal history includes the word “cosmopolitan” (*Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose*<sup>47</sup>). In this tract Kant envisions a future world in which all the peoples are united by a single—universal/global—enlightened philosophy and governed by a federation of free republican states. Eurogenic elites have seized upon it as Kant's marching order to them to undertake the mission to spread “Western” values, especially “Western” models of government, to non-Eurogenic peoples. The “universalism” that Kantians today believe that Kant envisioned is the global spread of a single worldview and a single civic community comprising all humanity.

Kantian evangelist-philosophers have vulgarized Kant's conception of cosmopolitanism. I include in this group such leading names as Martha Nussbaum and Anthony Appiah. What was Kant's conception of cosmopolitanism, and where did the lower colored races fit in this conception? Kant displays two conceptions and practices of cosmopolitanism. The first is an *inter-Europe* application. The second is a global application. But when he switches to the global level, what had been cosmopolitanism for *inter-European* relations now becomes “international” relations among Europeans. I offer below a précis of his views.

When Kant considers the history of humanity, he is not looking at the past as a conventional historian might. The conventional historian studies documents and other sources, primary and secondary, with the aim of forming some conclusions about the achievements of previous “nations,” as he puts it. Instead, Kant views human history as one still-flowing history of past and present nations steered forward to a distant goal by the “invisible hand” of Nature. He distinguishes this approach to history from the history of conventional historians by calling it “philosophical history.” Philosophical history seeks to discern Nature's role in what, on surface, appears to be relations among nations, that is, he seeks to discern Nature's role in human affairs. It views history as the interplay of impersonal forces that allows for the exercise of human will but influences the resolution of these individual wills in favor of Nature's long-term goal.

---

<sup>47</sup> There are several alternative translations for “purpose”: aim, intent, tendency, etc. But Kant's description of the “secret” plan that Nature has for human political evolution indicates a clear preference for “purpose.”

Kant argues that Nature, unbeknownst to humans, goads nations toward conflict when nations, left to themselves, would prefer to cooperate and live in peace. It does so because it wants nations to keep progressing toward the distant goal it has set for them, namely, to create a world civic community ruled by a single state. This single state would be a federation of free and peer-level European republics.

This is quite a remarkable prefiguration of the dialectical philosophies of history of Hegel and Marx. The “dialectic” here is between, on the one hand, contentious human wills among the denizens of the European nations, and, on the other hand, Nature’s gyroscopic engagement with these contentious human wills and their resolution (“synthesis”) in favor of Nature’s “purpose”: to induce these nations toward her distant goal of perpetual peace among the nations of the world.

But that happy day is far off. In the meanwhile, Europe is the latest cutting-edge of what Kant calls “universal” history. This “universal” history begins with the ancient Greeks. Nature, secretly, sees to it that the Greeks come into conflict with the Romans, who defeat them. The Romans, in turn, are defeated by the “barbarian” Germans who dismember the Empire and usher in the European states. Kant surveys the Europe of his day and sees states ruled by war-mongering rulers who have bankrupted their states in their militarism. Each ruler has to be constantly in a high state of military preparedness, otherwise he will be gobbled up by a more powerful state. Kant sees in this destructive relations among European states Nature’s “wise” plan: to awaken the rulers to the need for a legal regime under which they would live in peace with one another. This is where his concept of *cosmopolitanism* and its related concept of *hospitality* come in. The “cosmos” in this concept is Europe, not the Earth.

Cosmopolitanism is a set of practical principles and norms that European *states* (not individuals) adopt for interacting with each other in a non-aggressive way. It is a form of a “non-aggression” pact. Kant argues that the endless and destructive warfare among the states robs the rulers of the resources for developing the intellectual and moral capacities of their citizens.<sup>48</sup> By “signing” on to the cosmopolitan program, the rulers can now focus inward and use their finances to promote “civilization,” by which he means the arts and sciences which the lower races, especially the blacks and reds, are incapable of.

The most noteworthy feature of Kant’s cosmopolitanism is that it is a *political* concept. It is an “international relations” concept he proposed to his fellow Europeans for moving from the stage of mutual warfare to the stage of cooperation so that Nature’s plan might move toward

---

<sup>48</sup> “Citizen” is an anachronistic translation of the German word *bürger*, “city dweller,” “resident,” “denizen,” etc. Citizenship, on the other hand, denoting membership in the political community organized by the state, is a modern concept that originated with the French Revolution.

the goal it has defined for humanity: a world federal state establishing a rule of law over the world's peoples.

Kant reveals to us—he is privy to the inner workings of Nature—that *Nature's purpose is cosmopolitan*, as the title of his short essay states. He means by this that Nature is moving humanity toward an End Times state of affairs in which the European states will form a federation in which they will *extend across the globe* the “international law” that governs their relations on the European continent. Individual denizens of the world (*welthürgers*) will now be regulated by this End Times federal state as they seek entry into areas that are already inhabited by other humans.

To make his cosmopolitan program acceptable to the suspicious and belligerent states of his day, Kant introduces another concept, *hospitality*. In contemporary discourse, this concept of Kant has been seized upon by all sorts of people who then bend it to suit their personal agendas. Kant's concept is very simple and of limited scope. It was the norm of his day that a man who mistakenly crossed the border and wandered into another state was immediately arrested by the law-enforcement authorities and subjected to all sorts of physical and mental mistreatment. Kant regarded this practice as a major barrier to cooperative relations he was promoting through his cosmopolitanism. He proposed to the rulers that instead of punishing the foreigner, they should afford him the bare minimum hospitality they would offer a guest visiting them: security of his person, respect, etc. Kant's principle of *hospitality* was an element of his cosmopolitanism. It was a *confidence-building* practical principle.

Kant identifies three types of “public law”: constitutional law, international law, and cosmopolitan law. Constitutional law is domestic law that is valid *inside* a given European state. International law is the pact that European states agree to observe in their relations with one another. This inter-Europe cosmopolitanism, with the principle of hospitality accepted by the parties, is, for Kant, “international law.” This “international law” is not a global regime but is valid only among European states. “International law” is international on the European continent only. It is mutually accepted public law that regulates the movement of residents to and from the states. We should note that what Kant calls “international law” (among European states), he has previously called “cosmopolitan law.” For Kant, when an inhabitant of a European state leaves his state and enters another state, he has become a *welthürger* in the sense that he has *gone out to the world* (from his home state). He has ventured out into the world even though he is still within Europe. He has become “cosmopolitan” by virtue of stepping out of the parochiality of his home state. Recall that Kant does not say that the inhabitant of one state who enters a neighboring state has a *right* to do so. He says only that this individual has a right to be treated in a civil manner and not be roughed up or killed.

The situation of the individual is very different when he steps *out of Europe into the “world” outside* (for the purposes of commerce, for example). As soon as he does that, he becomes an inhabitant of the world, a *weltbürger*. By leaving his home state and venturing out into the world beyond Europe, he has moved from being a *bürger* (denizen of the state) to being a *weltbürger* (denizen of the world). But the world “out there” is not governed by any public law as individual European states are domestically and “internationally” among themselves. The European businessman is, as it were, “out on his own.”

Kant asserts that the European businessman is an inhabitant of the world and has, therefore, as much right as anyone else to go to and enter any uninhabited territory. Since there is no public law regime regulating the businessman’s situation, Kant views the right of the businessman as a moral right rooted in Nature’s plan for humanity. The businessman may enter into a treaty with the owner or owners of a territory, but this treaty has to be a treaty between the two parties in the absence of a public law regulating treaties. Once a public law is created, then that public law is cosmopolitan law because its scope is to regulate relations among individuals or groups who belong to different “nationalities.”

This “cosmopolitan law” is simply the intra-Europe “international law” extended across the globe.<sup>49</sup> Kant’s concept of cosmopolitanism is a *state-level* concept. It is not an individualist concept among citizens within a state. Nowhere does Kant suggest that the individual businessman who ventures beyond Europe into the world “out there” has thereby become a cosmopolitan *individual*. Since it is the state and not the individual that is cosmopolitan (in entering into a public law agreement with other states), the notion of the cosmopolitan individual who cares about the wellbeing of the world’s inhabitants is alien to his thought.<sup>50</sup>

One quite remarkable feature of Kant’s conception of human history is that it is, in reality, Natural History—the historical development of Nature—unfolding through human history, which is being driven forward teleologically toward an end set by Nature itself. A second remarkable feature of Kant’s conception of human history is that *political life and political evolution are integral to the workings of Nature*.

### Cosmopolitanism and the Colored Races

Kant’s notion of “cosmopolitanism” is intimately linked to his other writings dealing with relations among the world’s different races. We have seen above that Kant views the white European race as the only race whose human nature is perfectly endowed. That means that the white European race is the only race fully endowed with Practical Reason, the mode that Reason

---

<sup>49</sup> *Perpetual Peace*, pp. 152-157.

<sup>50</sup> This view is the dominant current in contemporary discourse on cosmopolitanism. Both Anthony Appiah and Martha Nussbaum are proponents of this Stoic-derived conception. But it is not shared by Kant.

assumes when it deals with human conduct and relations among humans. We have also seen above that the inferior races are destined by their cosmically endowed defective human natures to become wards of the European master race that will direct them toward an envisioned future of lasting peace among the races. That end state will be “cosmopolitan” in that it will be governed by a globally applicable public law regime instituted by a federation of European republican states. Kant has already proposed, in his *Perpetual Peace*, a federal scheme for the states of Europe as a framework upon which the colored inferior races would subsequently be governed by these intra-European federated states. It is simply untenable to read into Kant’s vision of the End Times federation a federation of multiracial states. The federation he has in mind is the federation among fellow European states that will jointly govern the inferior races.

Although I have mentioned this point above, it bears repeating that Kant undeniably believes that the colored races are innately incapable of self-government. This innate incapability is rooted in their transcendently endowed defective human nature. The idea that colored races are incapable of self-government has enjoyed a long continuous history in Eurogenic thought, from John Stuart Mill through Winston Churchill to international organizations like the World Bank and IMF, whose development policies cannot be understood without this unacknowledged belief. The idea has also been the basis and guiding principle in Eurogenic countries’ treatment of their respective Indigenous peoples, from those of Canada, the US through the Americas to Australia and New Zealand.

Kant’s cosmopolitanism envisions a *monocultural* global society underwritten by European civilization. The happy ending to human civilizational development and destructive wars (among Europeans) cannot be reached without first displacing the obstructive cultures, languages and “virtue ethics” of the colored races. This feature of Kant’s cosmopolitanism is expediently ignored by his Eurogenic evangelist-philosophers and government policymakers, but more distressingly, it is also missed by his disciples among the colored races.

### Cosmopolitan Hospitality: Philosophical Cover for European Colonization?

Kantian philosophers have been conspicuously silent over a troubling aspect of Kant’s doctrine of cosmopolitanism and hospitality: his justification for European colonization. Kant had introduced the principles of cosmopolitanism and hospitality in the context of intra-European warmongering and distrust of neighboring peoples.

Kant then extended this principle to the entire planet. Whereas all territory on the European continent was already taken up, this was not the case with much of the world. Large swaths of uninhabited land lay all around the globe. The creator had created the world for all humans. Therefore anyone has the (God given) right to take over land that no one has previously occupied. The second element of this “globalized” doctrine of cosmopolitanism

is hospitality. In the intra-European context, Kant urges the rulers not to harm the intruder from a neighboring state but to enable him to return home. He clarifies that he is not asking for the foreigner to be treated as a guest, only that no harm should come to him, like killing him. Nor is Kant proposing a doctrine of hospitality that involves actively welcoming the foreigner. His is a *negative* hospitality: just don't harm him and facilitate his return to his country.

Kant observes that Europeans are spreading all over the world. They are propelled outward by a commercial spirit. They wish to do commerce with different races, and for that to be possible, they need to be able to enter those lands. He insists that they have a right to show up anywhere in the world, and they have the right to be received respectfully and to not be harmed or killed.

Kant does not address one scenario that actually played out: not taking No for an answer. What if the host people reject the Europeans' request to enter their territory and the Europeans refuse to accept this rejection and proceed to force themselves on the peoples? Kant was well informed about such cases because he complains strongly about European mistreatment of the natives. In one case he laments that Europeans ignore the natives and treat the land as if it was unoccupied. In these statements Kant clearly disapproves of Europeans forcibly taking land that belongs to the natives. Against this position we should place his view that Europeans have the right to be anywhere in the world. This is a principle. Its actual implementation is contingent on whether a piece of land that is coveted by the Europeans is already occupied or not.

Kant could not oppose the spreading out of the Europeans all over the world. He saw European commerce as the engine of Nature: the merchants strike out far and wide and interact with other races. The peaceful compacts they make with the natives increases global commerce but also prepares the different races to cooperate with one another. Could Kant not see that European merchants might impose commercial treaties favorable to them because of their superior power? Was that not already happening in his time?

If the European race was Nature's chosen race to lead the lower races to the End Times perpetual peace, would not imperialism and colonialism be a necessary mechanism for bringing the lower races under the tutelage of the Europeans? I have already pointed out earlier that the principle of *teleology* in human political evolution is built into Nature. Would Kant consider imperialism and colonialism to be specific teleological mechanisms steering humanity's political development toward the End Times perpetual peace? Would not European imperialism and colonialism be *conceptually* and *axiomatically* consistent with Kant's foundational Human Nature-Skin Color coupling and the principle of *political teleology* built into it?

## Enter Charles Darwin

Charles Darwin did not claim that the races fall on an evolutionary path that left the blacks behind the whites. To him there was only one race, the human race. Nor did he assign degrees of human-ness to the different races.

Darwin's theory of evolution was seized by others, scientists as well as non-scientists, who adapted it to justify and support their idiosyncratic ideological beliefs in the innate differences in the human-ness of the races. The result was Social Darwinism, according to which the different social, cultural or civilizational attainments of the races are the result of their innate intellectual and moral capacities, which are endowed by Nature itself.

## Social Darwinism

Social Darwinism posited a fusion between biological and social/cultural evolution among the races. The low intellectual, moral, material and cultural attainments of the black race, and its complete lack of civilizational attainment, neatly fit into their evolutionary model: the low civilizational achievement of the black race was the result of its innate intellectual and moral endowments that limit how far they can develop culturally and civilizationaly.

Social Darwinism included the notion that the lower races could, in principle, attain higher levels under the tutelage of the white race. Hence the doctrine of the civilizing mission of the white race.

Social Darwinism explained why the white race had advanced ahead of the colored races and left them behind. As Kant and Hume had done, they linked biology to social and cultural achievement. But the Enlightenment thinkers did not resort to an evolutionary scheme; they (Kant in particular) were content to attribute the advances of the white race, and the relative backwardness of the colored races, to natural endowments—and in Kant's case, to skin color.

The Social Darwinists added, as an addendum rather than a fundamental reworking of the Enlightenment theory of race, the idea that the black man was closer to the apes than he was to the higher-level human and white race. Kant had already described the black and red races as lacking in full human nature and of being cosmically (transcendentally) endowed with imperfect humanity. But he had not described them, especially the black race, as closer to the apes than it was to the white race. Kant did not think, when he looked at or considered the black race, that he was looking at his *own primitive* original condition, of his own civilizational infancy. Darwin was to come later.

The Social Darwinists introduced a *social* evolutionary developmental hierarchy among the races rooted in the apes. The races all had evolved from the apes. The white race was endowed with traits that enabled it to succeed in developing advanced social and cultural institutions and also mental and moral capacities. The black race was not so endowed, and because of this innate limitation set by Nature, its social and cultural development has remained frozen through history.

Unless we grasp fully this extremely important addition to the Kantian framework that properly transforms the Kantian framework into the Kant-Darwin model of races, we will fail to understand the explosion of interest in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in human zoos, circuses, exhibitions and other forms of public events. Africans and Native Americans were exhibited as animals alongside other animals, or they were exhibited as *exotic* species that had human physiques but were in their mental, moral and emotional development like apes. They were apes in human form.

The origins of anthropology as an academic discipline cannot be understood without the idea, propounded by Social Darwinists, that non-European races are “records” or “living fossils” left behind by the evolutionary path culminating in the white race. Europeans who wished to study their past could now study the non-European races that were, as it were, the European race fossilized as Africans, Polynesians, Native Americans, and others.

## IV

### Exemplifying the Kant-Darwin Model

#### Slavery in the American South

In the US, the settlers justified slavery on Biblical grounds. They viewed Africans as descendants of Ham, the son of Noah who was cursed into servitude by his father. Ham was not black-skinned, but a legend was created that had him or his offspring travel south into black Africa where the Hamites interacted with black Africans and transmitted Noah’s curse to them. Africans, who had no clue about Noah and his wanderings in the Levantine coast, were now cursed by someone who did not even know that the African continent extended beyond the Sahara Desert.

The devout “turn the other cheek” Christians, their consciences liberated by Martin Luther from the Catholic Church’s doctrinal suffocation, looked inward to their consciences and were assured that kidnapping and enslaving Africans and converting them to Christianity was actually doing the slaves a favor because Jesus would cleanse them of Noah’s curse.



But conversion to Christianity did not admit the black slaves into white Christian fellowship as equal brethren. Indeed, the very opposite happened. The more the slaves accepted Jesus, the more they were tightly fettered in the plantation economy. The settler white Christians' commitment to the Kantian conception of skin color proved much stronger than Christian fellowship. As Kant had explained, the lower races are innately incapacitated in their rationality and morality, but tutelage under white Europeans would go some way toward humanizing them and bringing to them the fruits of European civilization. Even though Kant had condemned slavery and the brutal treatment of slaves, he did not explicitly exclude slavery as one of the mentor-protégé relationships for civilizing the lower races. Recall that in his ranking of the races, he described the black race as capable of being trained, but only for servitude and slavery. Kant did indeed condemn the abusive treatment of slaves by their white master, but he did not call for the abolition of the institution. Kant was not an abolitionist.

### Lynchings in the US

Lynching of black people was primarily a post-Civil War and post-Reconstruction phenomenon. Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation speech formally abolished slavery and freed the slaves and declared them equal citizens of the United States.<sup>51</sup> To the former slave masters, the notion that their erstwhile slaves were now their political equals and could own property and run for public office was deeply offensive. They responded by ushering in what has come to be known as the Jim Crow era.

There is a vast scholarly literature on this subject which is readily accessible on the Internet. I will not repeat this easily accessible and generally well known history of lynching. In the limited space that I have allocated to this topic, I will focus on those characteristics of lynching that exemplify the Kant-Darwin theory of the races. The photos below provide visual evidence supporting this exemplification of the Kant-Darwin model.

### Lynchings as Picnics

Lynchings were as much part of everyday life as baseball or church suppers. Entire families attended these events and took pictures to mark the occasion. For example, Henry Smith, 17-year-old mentally disabled black male, was lynched after he was accused of having murdered a

---

<sup>51</sup> The Fourteenth Amendment (1868) of the US Constitution declared the equality under the law of all citizens. The Fifteenth Amendment (1870) extended the franchise to the former slaves by prohibiting the federal and state governments from denying any citizen the right to vote because of a citizen's "race, color or previous condition of servitude." The Southern whites defied these amendments by enacting Jim Crow laws aimed at reducing the former slaves to the status of second class citizens. The Southern whites introduced racial segregation through state legislation, and they also enacted laws to remove any political and economic advances made by blacks during the Reconstruction period (1863-1877). The best starting point for studying the history of lynchings in the US are the three Wikipedia articles, "Lynching in the United States," "Reconstruction Era," and "Jim Crow Laws."

white girl. A wildly cheering crowd of hundreds tortured, then burned Smith alive. After the lynching they celebrated and took away body parts as souvenirs.<sup>52</sup>



Photo 1

A large crowd watches the lynching of Henry Smith in Paris, Texas, on February 1, 1893. Library of Congress/Getty Image

In many cases the lynchings were lengthy proceedings. Speeches were delivered, food was eaten before the victim was “pierced with knives, burned with hot irons or blowtorches, had their fingers and toes cut off, had their eyes cut out, and were castrated—all before being hanged or burned to death.” These occasions came to be known as “Negro barbeques.”<sup>53</sup>

A macabre feature of many lynchings was the practice of taking home a piece of the cooked body of the victim. Crowds would eat food and take a drink as they participated in the lynching. In some cases they would return home and immediately sit down for a meal.<sup>54</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup> *Blacks, Picnics and Lynchings*, David Pilgrim, Curator, Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia, Ferris State University, January, 2004. The writer provides very useful footnotes and even a short bibliography on lynching in the US. <https://www.ferris.edu/HTMLS/news/jimcrow/question/2004/january.htm>.

<sup>53</sup> *Blacks, Picnics and Lynchings*, cited above (Footnote 52).

<sup>54</sup> *Blacks, Picnics and Lynchings*, cited above (Footnote 52).



Photo 2

Jesse Washington was burned and lynched before thousands in Waco, Texas, 1916.  
Library of Congress/Getty Images



Photo 3

Large crowd watches lynching of Will James. James was riddled with bullets after being lynched. Le Block.

### Large Festive Crowds

In some cases an immense crowd gathered to watch the spectacle. Will James (Photo 3) was lynched in Cairo, Illinois after being accused of murdering a white girl. He was captured in nearby Belknap and taken to the most prominent square in the city and strung up. The rope broke and the man was *riddled with bullets*.

The body was then dragged by the rope for a mile to the scene of the crime and burned in the presence of at least 10,000 rejoicing persons. Many women were in the crowd, and some helped to hang the victim and to drag his body.<sup>55</sup> Reverend George H. Babcock of the Church of the Redeemer in Cairo defended the lynchings: they were necessary because the civil authorities had failed to maintain law and order.

A white writer described the festive atmosphere at one lynching: “Everything was very orderly, there was not a shot, but much laughing and hilarious excitement...It was quite a gala occasion, and as soon as the corpse was cut down all the crowd betook themselves to the park to see a game of baseball.”<sup>56</sup>

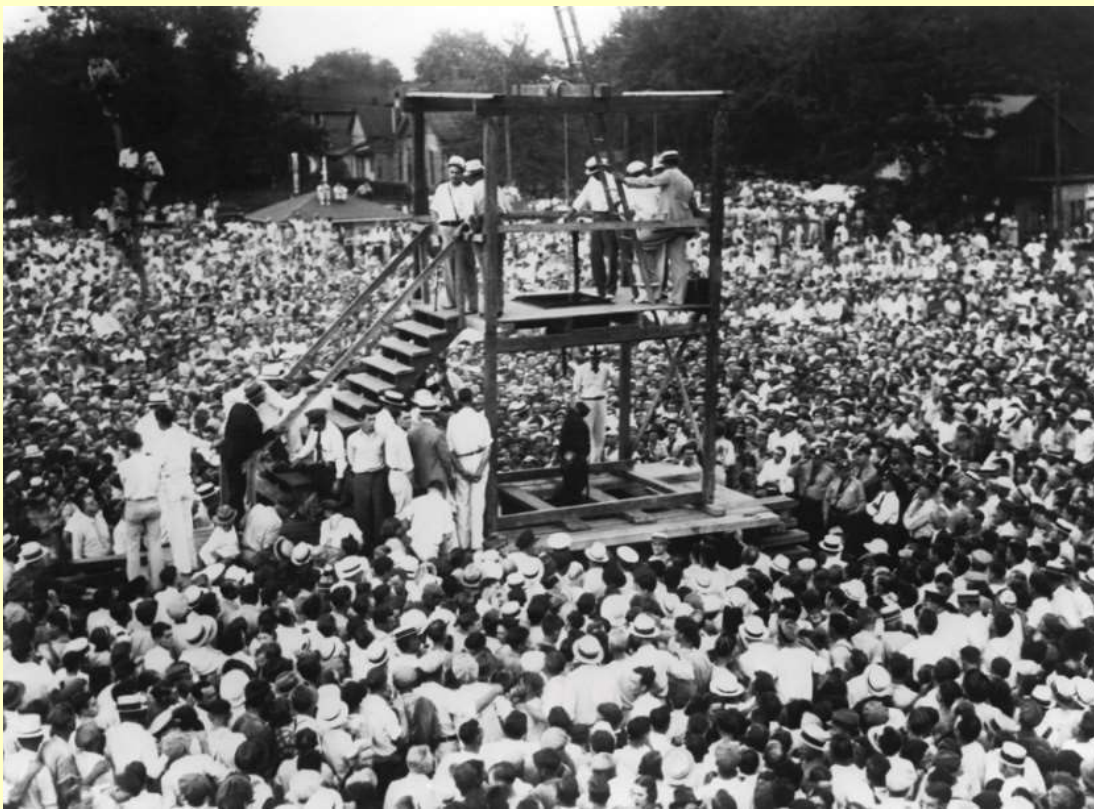


Photo 4

Officials in Owensboro, Kentucky, carry out a public execution in 1936. Note the massive crowd. Hulton Archive/Getty Images

---

<sup>55</sup> 1909: Will James, “the Froggie”, lynched in Cairo [Illinois]. [<http://www.executedtoday.com/2009/11/11/1909-will-james-the-froggie-lynched-cairo-illinois/comment-page-1/>]

<sup>56</sup> *Blacks, Picnics and Lynchings*, cited above (Footnote 52).



Photo 5

A close-up of the horror of the lynching and burning of Jesse Washington, Waco, Texas, in 1916. Note the smiles on the faces of some of the men. 10,000 whites flocked to witness the 17-year-old Jesse being lynched and burned. Reddit.com



Photo 6

A well-dressed large crowd watches a lynching. Children, some with their sandwiches, were an important part of these festivities, for they carried on the tradition of lynching and the image of black people as beasts whose lynching became a picnic event. NPR

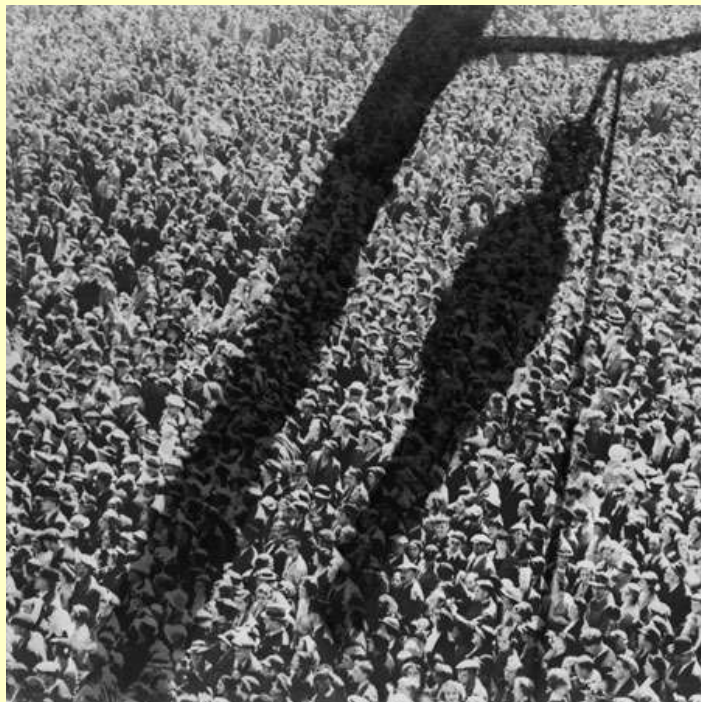


Photo 7

The shadow of a lynching set against a crowd of people in the thousands. The image was created and distributed by the NAACP, c. 1930s. Everett Historical, Shutterstock.com



Photo 8

A girl, a smile on her lips, witnesses a lynching. The attendance of children was a major mechanism for passing to the next generation the image of black people as human-looking beasts. Alamy.com

### Children at the Lynchings

Children (Photo 8) were a regular presence at the lynchings, which were fun moments that they remembered and spoke about in an excited manner. The participation of white children in these events was a powerful mechanism for perpetuating the ideology and practice of lynching to the next generation.

### Lynching of Black Women: Laura Nelson and Mary Turner

In May 1911, Laura Nelson was lynched in Okemah, Oklahoma. Nelson allegedly shot a sheriff to protect her son. The officer had been searching her cabin for stolen goods as part of a meat-pilfering investigation. A mob seized Nelson along with her son, who was only 14 years old, and lynched them both. However, Nelson was first raped by several men. The bodies of Laura and her son were hung from a bridge for hundreds of people to see.



Photo 9

Laura Nelson was lynched and hung from a bridge in Okemah, Oklahoma, May 1911. Wikipedia

The second case is that of Mary Turner. Her husband Hayes had been lynched the day before, in May 1918 in the southern Georgia town of Valdosta. When she protested his lynching, the sheriff arrested her and handed her over to a white mob. She was eight months pregnant.

She was tied and hung upside down by the ankles, her clothes soaked with gasoline, and burned from her body. Her belly was slit open with a knife like those used in splitting hogs. Her unborn babe fell to the ground and gave two feeble cries. Its head was crushed by a member of the mob with his heel, and the crowd shot *hundreds* of bullets into Turner's body. Mary Turner was cut down and buried with her child near the tree, with a whiskey bottle marking the grave...[White] newspapers failed to mention her pregnancy or the brutal murder of her newborn baby, while black reports emphasized it. After the incident, the Associated Press wrote that Mary Turner had made "unwise



remarks” about the murder of her husband, and that “the people, in their indignant mood, took exception to her remarks, as well as her attitude.”<sup>57</sup>

### Lynching, Shooting and Burning

Will Brown was accused of attempting to molest a white woman. He was not accused of actually molesting the woman, simply of attempting it. That was good enough for a lynch mob to burn the courthouse and drag him out of the jail. They hanged him from a telegraph pole and *riddled his body with bullets*. Then they dragged his burning body through the streets until it was mutilated beyond recognition. Pieces of the rope that was used to hang Will Brown were sold as souvenirs to the smartly dressed white spectators. The photo of his charred corpse (below, Photo 10) is one of the cruelest images of lynching in the US.



Photo 10

Omaha Courthouse lynching of Will Brown. Note the festive atmosphere as though the onlookers had come to watch some fireworks display. Note too the well-dressed crowd, in suits and ties. Blackpast.org

### Lynchings as Souvenirs

In a widely cited paper, the scholar Harvey Young described lynchings as souvenirs.<sup>58</sup> He reports on the lynching of Sam Hose in Newman, Georgia on April 2, 1899. Nearly 2,000 white men, women and children not only witnessed the lynching but some of them actively

---

<sup>57</sup> See the article “May 1918 Lynchings,” Wikipedia, which cites numerous sources in constructing the narrative.

<sup>58</sup> “The Black Body as Souvenirs in American Lynching,” *Theatre Journal*, 57, 2005, pp. 639-657

took part in it. He was burned alive. Even as he burned and was still alive, the crowd cut various parts of his body to take home as souvenir. Young quotes the *Springfield Republican* (Massachusetts), which reported the event thus:

Before the torch was applied to the pyre, the negro was deprived of his ears, fingers and genital parts of his body. He pleaded pitifully for his life while the mutilation was going on, but stood the ordeal of fire with surprising fortitude. Before the body was cool, it was cut to pieces, the bones were crushed into small bits, and even the tree upon which the wretch met his fate was torn up and disposed of as “souvenirs.” The negro’s heart was cut into several pieces, as was also his liver. Those unable to obtain ghastly relics direct paid their more fortunate possessors extravagant sums for them. Small pieces of bones went for 25 cents, and a bit of liver crisply cooked sold for 10 cents.<sup>59</sup>

Young describes a second lynching, “the hanging and burning of George Ward before a crowd of four thousand people in Terre Haute, Indiana” on February 27, 1901. He quotes a *Chicago Record* report of the lynching:

When the crowd near the fire tired of renewing it after two hours, it was seen that the victim’s feet were not burned. Someone called an offer of a dollar for one of the toes and a boy quickly took out his knife and cut off a toe. The offer was followed by others, and the horrible traffic was continued, youths holding up toes and asking for bids.<sup>60</sup>

### Lynching as Thanksgiving

The notion of lynching as thanksgiving merits research. The traditional Thanksgiving is an act of gratitude by white Americans to God for having gifted them this vast and resource-rich land where they have been able to live as a free people and to view themselves as a “City upon the Hill,” a beacon to the rest of humanity. The American landmass belongs to them because God gifted it to them. They exterminated most of the Indigenous people and rounded up and herded the rest like cattle and confined them to reservations.

Lynching can also be seen as an act of thanksgiving by white Americans, for lynching was a piecemeal cleansing of the white body politic of the malignant disease that was the black man and woman. In the traditional Thanksgiving, white Americans offer a sacrificed, cooked/roasted and cut-up turkey to God and partake of commensality to forge white fraternity. Individual families come together in a reunion and engage in festivities like watching a baseball game or, as is the norm today, American football. Lynching became an occasion for the town’s population (the “family”) to come together in a reunion and engage

---

<sup>59</sup> “The Black Body as Souvenirs in American Lynching” (cited above).

<sup>60</sup> “The Black Body as Souvenirs in American Lynching” (cited above).

in communal meals and watch games and make merry. Whereas in the traditional Thanksgiving the family killed a defenseless turkey, roasted it, sliced it into parts and offered it to God as their personal sacrifice, in lynching the entire town killed a defenseless black man or woman, roasted/burned the corpse and sliced it into parts (including bones) and offered it as their “sacrifice” to God. There was much to be thankful for in eliminating yet one more black man or woman who had been a blot on the purity of the *white* race.

### Lynching as the Hunting and Killing of Cage-Free Animals

We recall that to Kant the black race was incapable of rational development but could be trained as servants and slaves but not more. The plantation economy of the south became one giant cage for the black slaves. When Kant expressed confidence that the black race could become servants or slaves, he obviously anticipated that these servants and slaves would be law-abiding under the watchful discipline of their white slave masters. The ever-present fear of swift punishment served as a deterrent to the would-be rebellious or escapee slave. This was also true of domestic “helps” of the sort depicted in the film *Gone With the Wind*: the household black women developed a close bond with the Scarlett O’Hara character, but the Sword of Damocles was hanging over them all the time.

In general, then, the social situation of the slaves in the plantation economy was the one that Kant would have felt vindicated by. But Abraham Lincoln’s emancipation flung open the doors of the cages, letting out the slaves who were free but suddenly “wild” and scattering aimlessly in all directions. They may be fleeing their former slave masters, but to the whites these black men and women had run amok and were overrunning their white-only neighborhoods. Freed black men and women were like rats that would nibble away at white society and so must be eradicated in this either white or black zero-sum mortal combat. Lynching was the symbolic method of ridding white society of these wild creatures. They had to be hunted and dragged to their scaffold in which, before thousands of white witnesses, they would be lynched.

### Trophies from the Successful Hunt

I described earlier the cut-up parts of the victim’s body as souvenirs. But these same body parts were also regarded by many white witnesses to the lynching as trophies from a successful hunt. A common format that led to the capture of the victim was the chase: a posse would head for the victim or hunt him down, drag him through the streets, begin cutting out his body parts while the wretched man screamed pitifully for mercy, torch his body while he was still alive, lynch him, burn his corpse, and share his remains as trophies to take home and display as evidence of a successful hunt of a beast.

## Body Riddled with Bullets

We have seen above, in the lynching outside the Omaha Courthouse and other occasions, that a posse of white men unleashed a fusillade of bullets into the victim's body. Why so many bullets? Was it not enough that one bullet did the job? The psychology at the root of this phenomenon needs to be studied. Is it something comparable to Brutus and his fellow assassins who collectively killed Julius Caesar and assuaged their consciences by sharing his blood, by having "blood on their hands"? Whatever the deep-seated source from which springs this need to riddle the body with 40-50 bullets, we need to note that this practice is very much alive in present-day America as white police officers fire as many as 50 bullets into a black man.

The practice of a group of police officers letting loose quick-fire rounds of bullets into a black victim first drew national attention in the 1993 New York case of 23-year-old Amadou Diallo.<sup>61</sup> The four police officers involved in the event fired a total of 41 bullets at the young man in what later emerged was a case of mistaken identity. Of these 41, 19 bullets entered Diallo's body. (Not surprisingly, the officers were charged but were subsequently acquitted.) Similar cases have been reported since the Diallo case in 1993: seven officers firing 42 rounds in 11 seconds; five officers firing 50 bullets;<sup>62</sup> and many more that are conveniently listed in the Wikipedia article "Contagious Shooting." The Omaha Courtroom and similar other incidents in the Jim Crow era suggest strongly that the latter-day killing of suspects with multiple rounds is a continuation of the Jim Crow practice, not something recent that is expediently attributed to battlefield experiences in Iraq or Afghanistan.

## The Kant-Darwin Attributes of the Lynchings

The foregoing short exposé of lynching shows that the whites who witnessed and carried out the lynchings and then disposed of or burned the corpses in the way they did, could not have regarded black Americans as human beings like them, let alone as equal citizens. Lynching was an act of sadistic cruelty to which even the wildest animals were not subjected. We should be left in no doubt whatsoever that lynchings showed, as nothing else could, *that white Americans did not regard or accept black people as fellow humans*. Black people were human-looking beasts that were caught in this no-man's land of not being humans like the white people but also not being animal like the animals of the jungles and forests. They were, in effect, a liminal species, neither here nor there.

The same whites would never treat an animal—*any* animal in the world, however ferocious—in the way they lynched, burned, cut up (including the heart), dragged, riddled the body with

---

<sup>61</sup> There is extensive online literature on this case.

<sup>62</sup> "Why Did Police Officers Fire 42 Times to Bring Down a Robbery Suspect in Queens?" *New York Times*, February 14, 2019.

bullets, etc., and treated these events as occasions for *social bonding* through communal meals, watching baseball, producing postcards, collecting body parts as souvenirs, and so on. Lynchings were spectacles, performances and ritualized rites of passage for the children and young people who learned through these occasions what it meant to be a “grown up white American,” namely, that he or she is someone who kills, or partakes in the killing of, a black man or woman as testimony of patriotism and good standing in the community—like proudly flying the American flag in front of one’s home. Lynchings were acts through which white Americans reinforced and reaffirmed, to themselves and to black Americans, that America belonged to them and to no one else.

Lynchings thus conformed to the core attributes of Kant’s as well as the Social Darwinists’ conceptions of the races. In Kant’s case, the black skin color of black Americans was the external bodily manifestation of a Nature-endowed imperfect and deficient human nature at the essence of which lay intellectual, moral and civilizational shortcomings that Kant labored all his life to delineate so painstakingly in his writings.

Lynching also exemplified the Social Darwinian theory of the black race as more ape than human. The black slaves or former slaves did not deserve to be treated with the kind of respect that whites showed each other. They were animals and so could be cut up while still alive, burned while still alive, dragged along streets the way beasts were dragged, strung up on a tree branch or a scaffold the way animals like pigs are strung up, roasted, “cooked to a turn,” their parts sliced up the way Americans slice the roasted turkey during Thanksgiving weekend, and so on. White witnesses and active agents did not feel any human fellowship toward these wretched victims even as these black victims screamed in pain when they were being cut up. Let us not forget that lynchings were often scheduled after church services in which the congregation came together in fellowship and prayed to Lord Jesus (Holy Father) as his spiritual children.

But as they stepped out to take part in the lynching, neither their emotional bonding in white-to-white fellowship, nor their consciences for the autonomy of which Martin Luther brought down the Catholic Church, experienced any moral qualms at the spectacle unfolding in front of them. To the contrary: lynchings outside the church continued the “church services” for forging white fellowship that the congregants had just completed inside the building. Lynchings brought white church-goers closer to one another in an act of fellowship. The black victim—a fellow Christian!—charred like a pig roast, was the sacrificial animal for the fellowship-engendering commensality. None of this would have been conceivable without the Social Darwin conception of the black man as an ape.

## The Reservations in the US

Whereas Africans were seized in their homelands and forced into slavery in the Americas, a very different fate befell the original owners of the land, the Native Americans. They were hunted down like wild animals, shot and killed, massacred along with their women and children, their ancestral homelands seized, and then, as the icing on the cake, the survivors, starving, weakened, homeless, demoralized and sick from a variety of diseases, were herded into resource-poor semi-arid areas of the continent designated as reservations. In many cases they were marched hundreds and thousands of miles to these reservations.

The Native Americans were Kant's "red" races. He had ranked them below the black race, at the bottom of the pile. If the black race was ape-like and a natural inhabitant of the African wilderness, the Native American was imagined as a wild untamed savage by the white settlers. Thomas Jefferson, in drafting the Declaration of Independence, used language for the Native Americans that he did not use for black African slaves—he was, after all, engaged in a secret sexual relationship with a black slave woman, Sally Hemming. Jefferson described the Native Americans as "merciless savages."

We should not forget that Jefferson was perhaps the most faithful American disciple of the Enlightenment philosophers of Europe, especially of John Locke. Nor could he have been ignorant of David Hume's views of blacks and colored races. Kant's views about skin color and race may not have been translated into English during Jefferson's lifetime, but not having access to Kant's views about skin color would not have added anything new to Jefferson's views about the "Indians." Kant was merely *formalizing* into a tightly argued philosophical system what was common "knowledge" among Europeans about the lower races.

To fully digest how one group of humans could behave so cruelly toward another group of humans—the question many Jews and others ask about the Nazis—it is necessary to understand the image it constructs of its target group. In the case of the "Indians" there is no better guide than Francis Jennings' brilliant and humane book, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (1975). This book describes the image the white settlers constructed of the "Indian," and it also describes the "cant of conquest" the settlers deployed to justify their atrocities toward the indigenous peoples. Jennings book is complemented by another brilliant book that describes the practical, including "legal," ways in which the "Indians" lost their lands: *Savages and Scoundrels: The Untold Story of America's Road to Empire through Indian Territory*, by Paul VanDevelder (2009).

## The "Five Civilized Tribes": Futility of Cultural Assimilation

The presence of colored immigrants in Europe and other Eurogenic countries today has become a problem for the white hosts because immigrants do not just bring color into the traditionally white landscape, they also bring with them their ancestral cultures and religions

that “clash” with those of the host populations. The debate, in which the immigrant voices are increasingly being heard but the ultimate decisions remain in the hands of white policymakers, has been framed as an either-or choice between assimilation and integration. Among immigrants, the majority prefer integration over assimilation because integration allows them relatively greater internal freedom to live according to their cultural norms.

But advocates of assimilation are also present within the immigrant communities. They advocate shedding their traditional cultures and adopting wholesale the culture of the host nation. They are unaware that they are advocating Kant’s prescription for the lower races—under European tutelage, of course. Assimilationist voices among immigrants are typically stronger in countries that demand assimilation; France today is the most uncompromising in this demand, followed by its offspring, the French Canadians in Quebec.

The immigrants and host-nation voices that advocate assimilation in the hope that through complete absorption into the host culture they will be accepted and treated as equal fellow citizens by whites should pause and examine carefully the experiences of the five Native American tribes that had embarked upon a project to assimilate into the culture of the white settlers—Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Seminole, collectively named “The Five Civilized Tribes.”

One of George Washington’s first projects after becoming the first president of the new United States of America was aimed at a novel method of pacifying the Indians. Washington proposed that peace between the two races would be achieved if the Indians adopted European civilization, a central principle of which was private property and the concept of land as a marketable item. They would become “civilized” and would cease being a disturbance to the settlers.

These tribes were “persuaded” by Washington to adopt some key elements of what was then emerging as American civilization. The tribes converted to Christianity, and they adopted literacy, private property, the market system, written constitutions, even intermarriage with white settlers, farming, schools, houses modeled on settler architecture, dresses of settler men and women, etc. The tribal chiefs believed that only by assimilating completely into settler culture would they be able to guarantee the survival of their peoples. Some of them went even further: the Cherokee launched their own newspaper and one of them, an immensely creative individual named Sequoyah, invented a new syllabary to represent Cherokee syllables. The federal government even sent Benjamin Hawkins to teach them how to practice “modern” farming. Thomas Jefferson continued Washington’s policy of “civilizing” the natives as a way of securing peace between the two peoples.

The five tribes made much “progress” over a period of thirty years. To their growing dismay, they realized that the federal government continued to take their lands whenever it wanted to. But it was the election of Andrew Jackson as president that nullified assimilationist transformation and brought upon them unspeakable atrocity and their near extermination.

Many Americans today regard Andrew Jackson as the father of “popular democracy.” By this expression they mean majoritarian democracy unconstrained by the Constitution. Jackson was an enemy of the principle of “constitutional republic” and harbored an inveterate hatred for the Supreme Court, whose rulings he simply disregarded. His “populism” consisted of unleashing the settlers into native territory, often during the night while the doomed natives were asleep in their tepees, and hacking them to death or shooting them dead—men, women, children and the elderly. Jackson soared in popularity and became increasingly unilateral in his decisions.

Andrew Jackson was president from 1829 to 1837. He initiated the program that came to be known as the Indian Removals. Over the course of his two terms, he signed more than 70 treaties with numerous tribes. With each new treaty, the tribes surrendered more and more land to the settlers, who would then swarm into it with Jackson’s blessings. The Cherokees, who had become the most “civilized,” were to suffer the worst catastrophe. Jackson forced upon them a thousand-mile march to what is today Oklahoma, where he had set aside a plot of land as their reservation. All the assimilation efforts came to nothing. “Being like white” did them no good. When the white man coveted his land, his civilizational similarity with the “fellow civilized” native was set aside. The Indians may have fully adopted white civilization, but it all counted for nothing because their skin color was not white.<sup>63</sup> And this skin color, which was the centerpiece of Kant’s raciology, proved fateful for the “Indians” because it was inextricably linked to the imperfect human nature of the “red” race. Washington, Jefferson and Jackson were glad that the Indians were acting and dressing like the white man but, as Kant maintained, all this civilization could not overcome this imperfect human nature to make it complete like the white race’s human nature.

Andrew Jackson is the worst American president in my book. He is much worse than Donald Trump. Americans and the world community—with the exception of his hardcore supporters at home and abroad, including like-minded exclusionists in Hungary and India—are at wits end to understand how someone like Trump could become president. Muslims, in particular, are a very fearful and aggrieved community in the US right now, given the manner in which he has singled them out for special treatment (for example, banning immigration from Muslim

---

<sup>63</sup> Readers wishing to learn more about Indian Removals and the Five Civilized Tribes may turn to the following three works as introduction to the subjects. The bibliographies are very useful for further study. *The Trail of Tears: The Story of the American Removals 1813-1855*, Gloria Jahoda, 1975; *The Trail of Tears: The Rise and Fall of the Cherokee Nation*, John Ehle, 1988; and *American Indians and the Law*, N. Bruce Duthu, 2008.



countries). But Trump's bigotry and discriminatory executive orders and laws are nowhere comparable to the near-genocide perpetrated by Andrew Jackson on the outgunned and outnumbered Native Americans. Trump has not given marching orders to his hardcore hunting dogs tugging at the leash and imploring him to let them go after the Muslims. He has not ordered them to hunt down Muslims and kill them and grab their homes and other assets. Trump has not called on the military to escort Muslims as they are marched thousands of miles to a designated reservation that has few natural resources to support them, etc. It is understandable for Muslims to feel beleaguered under the Trump administration. But I doubt the Native Americans regard him equal to or worse than Jackson who was a wannabe Hitler before Hitler.

The celebrated Alexis de Tocqueville travelled across America during Jackson's presidency. He dutifully records—in his *Democracy in America*, a book most college students have read at least in parts—the depredations of white Americans against the Native Americans, for whom he has great sympathy. But like the “benevolent racist,” Albert Schweitzer, de Tocqueville laments their foregone doom he discerns on the horizon. He does not say it bluntly and frankly as Schweitzer does about Africans, that the Africans just don't have it in them to create civilization. De Tocqueville, the circumspect diplomat, says the same thing, but obliquely. He says it in the form of a question, Will the Indians be able to stop the irresistible march of civilization across their lands? The wording suggests that the Indians do not have civilization and cannot create one if left to themselves. They had lived all by themselves for millennia before the white man arrived with his civilization, but during this long period they had not built civilization. That proved that they were innately incapable of developing civilization. De Tocqueville was a highly educated and widely read French intellectual who was echoing Kant's views of the colored races.

## **The Kant-Darwin Model in Action**

### **Human Zoos**

The fusion of Kant's color-based theory of the races and (the vulgarized form of) Darwin's theory of evolution of the species coincided with the scramble for Africa among the European powers. In the US the federal government had finally subdued the Native Americans by the 1870s. These two European sibling societies, one striking out toward Africa and the other putting the finishing touches to its reservations into which the vanquished Native Americans were herded and confined, led to the emergence of organized “scientific” exhibitions and zoos alongside “educational” entertainment events like traveling circuses and shows.

At a more serious academic level, the disciplines of ethnology and anthropology bestowed the Kant-Darwin model with intellectual respectability and authority. Highly esteemed ethnologists of the day ran the best museums in Europe and the US. They became central characters in the procurement of the human specimens for the exhibitions and zoos, planning and organizing the events and administering their “ethnological exhibition.” The term “savages” also became common during this period as a special designation for human-like animals (non-white races) to distinguish them from “wild” animals like apes and lions. The human zoos were also called “Negro villages,” small-scale replicas of the villages and village life of the Africans put on display in these exhibitions and zoos. These human specimens were often nude and in cages. The ethnologists and anthropologists described the exhibitions and human zoos as “laboratories” for their studies.

European imperialism, not just in Africa but in the Far East, opened up the indigenous populations to European “scientists” to capture wild animals for their zoos back home. To these animals they now added specimens of Indigenous peoples, small children, women, men, old men and women, etc. One pioneer of human zoos was Carl Hagenbeck. His idea was to have animals as well as humans locked up in a zoo. Conspicuously, the Wikipedia entry on him states cold-bloodedly that Hagenbeck “was also an ethnography showman and a pioneer in displaying humans next to animals in human zoos.”<sup>64</sup> Many human zoo exhibitions were held in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The 1907 exhibition in Paris displayed naked and half-naked humans in cages. Europeans were able to fix their gaze on the bare-breasted African women who, along with their menfolk, re-enacted their “primitive” life for the visitors. The anthropologists of the day studied these replicas of African life as empirical evidence in support of the belief, widely held by Europeans, that they were indeed the superior race.<sup>65</sup> The Paris exhibition in 1931, displaying the Kanak indigenous people, attracted 24 million visitors in six months. I offer a few examples below.

## Africans

### Ota Benga Caged with Apes

One of the most notorious cases was that of the Congolese Pygmy, Ota Benga (Photo 11). I will spare the reader the details of his life and the manner in which he ended up in the Bronx Zoo in New York. The anthropologist Madison Grant “arranged” for Benga’s arrival at the zoo, where he was put on display at an exhibition in 1906. Benga was placed alongside other animals. In its program announcement, the zoo informed American visitors that Benga was the “missing link” between an orangutan and the white race.

---

<sup>64</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carl\\_Hagenbeck](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carl_Hagenbeck).

<sup>65</sup> “The Hidden History of the Human Zoos,” John Moore. *Black History*. [blackhistory.neocities.org/Human\\_Zoos.html](http://blackhistory.neocities.org/Human_Zoos.html)



Photo 11

Ota Benga in the Bronx Park Zoo, New York, 1906.  
News Dog Media.



Photo 12

The New York Times report on Ota Benga, September 9, 1906: “Bushman Shares a Cage with Bronx Park Apes.” New York Times.



Photo 13

An African man displayed at an exhibition as the “missing link” between apes and the white race. News Dog Media.



Photo 14

A group of Africans chained together for display in a human zoo. Busy.com



Photo 15

The small print caption states: “NEW TO CIVILIZATION!!! From Africa’s Darkest Depths!” Note that these “savages” are being portrayed as exhibits for “educational” purposes. Getty Images



Photo 16

Here an African woman, Saida, is juxtaposed with a Siamese ape from Borneo dressed up with a jacket to make the woman look she belongs to the ape species. Blackhistory.neocities.org

### The Little African Girl at the Zoo in Brussels

King Leopold II (d. 1909) was a heartless and merciless king of the Congo Free State. Estimates of how many Congolese were murdered by the Belgian colonial rulers vary from 1 million to 15 million under his reign. Leopold II was the driving force in the creation of human zoos that ran well into the 1950s under the reign of King Baudouin. In Photo 17 below, the white visitors to a human zoo exhibition in 1958 are clearly treating the girl as a member of some non-human species. Just as they would throw morsels of food or fruits (bananas to a monkey), so here they are being “kind” to her and giving her some food. To them, this little black girl has human features but is in fact nearer the apes.

The year 1958, in which this exhibition was held, is not without significance. The Treaty of Rome (March 1957) had created the European Economic Community (EEC, known as the European Common Market in the English-speaking world), which held its first meeting in January 1958. One of the architects of this predecessor of the European Union was the Belgian statesman, Paul Henri Charles Spaak. The EEC itself was an upgrade to the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), which had been created in 1951 by the Treaty of Paris. The ECSC was an effort by six European states to tackle head-on the underlying centuries-

long mutual distrust among Europeans that had led to constant warfare among them and which culminated in the 20<sup>th</sup> century with the catastrophic two world wars.



Photo 17

This little African girl was part of the human zoo exhibition held in Brussels (Belgium) in 1958. One Congolese man who attended the exhibition was outraged by it. He was Patrice Lumumba. A few months later he launched the movement for Congo's independence. CBC.CA

Thus, between 1945, when World War II ended, and 1958, when the little Congolese girl was displayed at a human zoo in Brussels (the capital today of the European Union), Europeans were progressing steadily toward closer economic and cultural unity and, more slowly, toward political integration. These progressive developments offered evidence that Europeans had finally learned the harsh lessons from their intra-European warfare and were committed not to return to the mindsets that had led to these killing fields.

It was in this context of seeking to replace their self-destructive mindsets that Europe's philosophers, statesmen and intellectuals turned to the Enlightenment philosophers for guidance on how to forge a peaceful and trusting Europe. A genre of political thought thus came into being: the "Idea of Europe." At the top of the list of Enlightenment philosophers was Immanuel Kant. Europeans were attracted to his conception of Reason as not only an "ontological" reason—in the mode of the Understanding that discovers the laws of Nature—

but also as *moral* Reason that guides the individual to act morally. Europeans had destroyed themselves because they had allowed their passions, emotions, fears, prejudices and distrust to overcome their rational capacities. Kant's emotionless Reason was intended to overpower passion and emotion and to judge the moral worth of an action coolly and impartially.

But there was another element in Kant's philosophy that resonated powerfully with Europeans: dignity. One of his most famous moral teachings is the conception of the individual as an "end in himself" and not as an instrument of another individual's end. In the aftermath of World War II and the horror of the Holocaust, Europeans found in Kant a moral teacher who taught them to respect each other's dignity—the German respecting the dignity of the arch-enemy the French, the French that of the German, and so on.

In the photo above (Photo 17), the onlookers who have come to see the black child do not appear (to me, at least) to hail from the economically and educationally poor working classes of Europe—they would be at work, under some mine or at some manufacturing plant earning their pittance. It would be reasonable for someone like me, a colored man who came of age under British rule in Tanzania, to presume that these middle-class white Europeans were part of the European population that had strongly endorsed the vision of Europe's statesmen to bury the hatchet and start afresh on the program to build an inclusive society based on principles of human equality, dignity and autonomy of the individual. They desperately wanted the bitterest and most inveterate enemies to become friends.

But this lofty vision about human dignity, respect and individual autonomy did not extend beyond the bounds of the European family to non-white peoples. If anything, the enemies of yesterday could now join together in the noble mission set for them by Kant to tutor the colored races, especially the black and red races, on how to be human and how to act ethically. The lessons they learned from their mutual warfare and destruction did not extend to the colored races—as exemplified by the black girl in the photo above, because these Enlightenment lessons *were not meant for them*. Unless we grasp this key characteristic of the intra-European post-War commitment to unity, we will fail to understand how these same Europeans could then flock to the human zoo to gape at the young black child and see in her not a fellow human being but an ape-like exotic animal from the jungles of the Congo.

### The Conjunction of Human Zoos, Imperialism and Lynchings

The post-Reconstruction decades during which lynchings of black Americans became famous spectacles and were marked by the most savage and sadistic killings, coincided with the rise of the human zoos. This period, from the 1880s through the 1930s, was notable for the so-called "scramble of Africa" among Europe's imperial powers.



European imperialism rendered the wildlife of colonized territories accessible to Europeans. It also opened up the indigenous peoples as subjects of the emerging anthropological sciences like ethnology. A few decades earlier, Charles Darwin had published his theory of evolution, which was vulgarized by social scientists into Social Darwinism. They brought the “exotic” colored peoples and the wildlife of the colonial territories to the public “scientific” and “educational” exhibitions that became hugely popular during this period as the public flocked in their millions to gawk at black Africans locked up inside cages alongside apes.

For our purposes, the key element that links the human zoos to the lynchings in the US is the notion, by then spreading like wildfire among the white populations on both sides of the Atlantic, that black people were beasts who looked like humans because they failed to evolve as fully as the Europeans had evolved. As Kant had asserted, the capacity to create civilization is one essential capacity of a fully developed human nature. Imperial expansion and incursion into Africa exposed to the Europeans African tribes that lacked civilization of the sort the Europeans had created. This lack of civilizational capacity strengthened the case made by Social Darwinists that black people were either apes or much closer to apes than they were to white Europeans.

Across the Atlantic, white Americans absorbed these new “scientific” findings and saw in these findings strong corroboration for their already firmly held conviction that the former black slaves were not human but human-looking beasts who needed to be exterminated or, failing that, to be maintained in a state of terror through the sort of savagery that I surveyed above in the section on lynchings.

The conjunction of human zoos, imperialism in Africa, and lynchings in the US needs in-depth studies before we are able to completely understand the roots of the unique cruelty perpetrated by “love thy neighbor” church-going white Americans on black Americans. In my view, it is a false question to ask how these white Christians could sit inside their church and listen to sermons on love for fellow humans and then step out to watch or actively take part in the lynchings. The assumption here is that these two behaviors by the same individual stand in contradiction to each other. This is a falsely formulated question. Rather, the question is, Why did those who witnessed or took part in the lynchings regard their thoughts, emotions and actions as *morally good* Christian actions?

Thousands of white Americans witnessed lynchings dressed in their best clothes for the occasion, the men wearing ties as if they were headed toward their church (or a banquet). They did so because they believed that these occasions were *morally elevating* occasions. They *had* to have experienced and understood these lynchings as forming a *moral continuum* with the moralizing sermons they had heard inside the church. When they cut up the wretched victim while he was still alive and screaming, when they set him alight while he was still alive, when

they dragged him along streets while he was still alive, when they riddled his body while he was still alive, when they did all this and more to him, they felt that they were doing the *right thing* that Jesus would have approved. Lynchings brought together the entire population of a town, not just a few rogue individuals. The church-going congregation was also the lynch mob that must have viewed lynching as a form of moral purification—lynching was a religious event. What was it that created this *moral continuum* between church participation and lynching participation inside the heart and mind of the white American? This, to me, is the central mystery presented by lynchings in the US.

## Native Americans

### Sitting Bull and Buffalo Bill Cody

Buffalo Bill's traveling circus performed in American cities as well as in European cities. He was a friend of the US president. The Sioux had been defeated and moved into reservations. Cody sought the help of the president to persuade Sitting Bull, the hereditary chief of the great Sioux people, to join his circus and perform traditional Indian dances for his audiences.

The Sioux had been placed under the “protection” of the federal government, which was responsible for clothing and feeding them. The president told Sitting Bull to join Cody's troupe of performers if he wished his people to be fed and clothed. During the performances Cody would prompt Sitting Bull with signals much like he would prompt his animals. Sitting Bull would then perform what he had been assigned to do. Sitting Bull's presence in Cody's troupe attracted large crowds who laughed heartily at the chief's performances.

Cody may not have heard of Immanuel Kant, but when he posed for this cruel and inhuman Photo 18 (below), he was acting perfectly in accord with the fundamental premise of the Kant-Darwin model of the non-European races. Cody's pose in the photo is that of the triumphant latter-day hunter who holds up his kill next to him. The “red” race for Kant were below even the “black” race. They properly belonged to the wilderness. They were more animal than the black race. The successful “hunting expedition” of the white man to hunt down and kill the Indigenous “wild animals” of the land and to herd and cage them in reservations—all this is consistent with the Kant-Darwin model of the races.

In the ensuing years, down to our own day, white Americans—the beneficiaries of this “successful hunt”—who look at this picture and comment on it remain oblivious to the humiliation and bewilderment on Sitting Bull's face. Sitting Bull was not an ordinary chief.



Photo 18

This is one of the most infamous photos of Buffalo Bill Cody's showman career. For Cody, Sitting Bull was a "coup" for his business. He could ask the great chief to pose for him as though he was a hunter posing with his kill. Cody has that look of the triumphant hunter. Sitting Bull, for his part, is not smiling. Quite the contrary: his face expresses humiliation and bewilderment at what befell his people. If there was a people in the world who were being just who they were, going about their daily life only to be set upon out of the blue by white foreigners with deadly weapons (Cody's rifle, above, being one of them), it was the Indigenous peoples of the Americas. Getty Images.

He was the chief of one of the most powerful aboriginal tribes in North America—the Sioux—a tribe whose history reaches back and fades into primordial times. He was well aware of his position and status among the Sioux and among other Native American tribes. The humiliation he experienced was not just personal: he was experiencing the collective humiliation and dehumanization of the Sioux people and of all other Native American peoples in America.

Sitting Bull was not the only great chief to be treated this way. The legendary Apache chief, Geronimo, was similarly reduced to selling small tribal trinkets and souvenir items at exhibitions for white Americans, who were, and still are, happy to see the photo of the great chief work to earn a few dollars with which to feed and clothe his vanquished people.

To register in our consciences the extreme sadism with which Buffalo Bill Cody and his fellow Americans treated Sitting Bull, imagine that a young and pretty Queen Elizabeth has been captured by some enemy people and is forced to perform like an animal in a traveling circus. The circus master signals to her, and she performs the rehearsed dance or other routine on cue. The crowd cheers lustily. Since she is a female, she also has to perform sex acts before the crowd and later provide sexual services to the circus master. The circus master then poses with her for photographs that would be used as advertisements.

### [Annexing Tribal Land for the Garrison Dam](#)

The dispossession of Native American land did not end in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It continued into the 20<sup>th</sup> century and into our 21<sup>st</sup> century. A recent case is the manner in which the Three Affiliated Tribes were dispossessed of their lands to make way for the Garrison Dam in the late 1940s.

When the US federal government wanted to build a dam on the Upper Missouri River, the tribes objected, but these objections did not prevent the federal government from passing legislation that effectively sliced off the most important part of tribal land. The tribes received compensation for the land, but they were denied the right to use the reservoir shoreline for grazing, hunting, fishing, etc. Additionally, the tribes were not allowed to use the confiscated land for irrigation, and they were prohibited from claiming royalties on subsurface minerals. The Garrison Dam devastated the culture of the Three Affiliated Tribes.

Kantian apologists will object to my characterization of these events as a latter-day exemplifications of Kant's more mature ideas about cosmopolitanism and hospitality.



Photo 19

In this 1948 photo, US Secretary of the Interior, Julius Krug, signs the document that gave the Congress the green light to “condemn” 156,000 acres of tribal ancestral homeland so that the Garrison Dam on the Upper Missouri River could be built. George Gillette, tribal chief, cannot hold back his tears and cannot even watch as Klug signs the document. The contrasting expressions on the faces of the white Americans standing behind the secretary on the one hand, and Gillette’s defeated and helpless emotion, on the other, crystallizes in one heartbreaking photo the very asymmetric distribution of power between the two races. AP Images/William Chaplis

Recall that Kant upgraded his original intra-Europe principle of hospitality by globalizing the right of the Europeans to live anywhere in the world. Natives could not deny the Europeans the right to settle in uninhabited areas of the natives’ lands. This surely was readily interpreted as a green light by the settlers who chased and hunted down and killed the natives in America. In the case of the Garrison Dam, note that the settlers covet tribal land, and the natives refuse to part with it. I speculated earlier what Kant would tell European settlers who would not take No for an answer. Having asserted the right of any European to live anywhere on Earth, Kant had effectively given the green light to the settlers to impose their will on the natives. Kant did not want the settlers to kill the natives or to be brutal toward them. He wanted the two sides to sign treaties. This is what we see in the case of the Garrison Dam. The two sides are in a David-Goliath asymmetric power relationship. The treaty is a charade that assuages the consciences of the white Americans that the Three Affiliated Tribes signed away their ancestral lands of their own free will.

## Polynesians

### The Kanaks of Polynesia: The Little Girl at the Zoo

One of the most unforgivable human zoo episodes involved the Polynesian Kanak tribe, who were ancestral to the island of New Caledonia off the eastern coast of Australia. At a colonial exhibition in Paris in 1931, an “indigenous village” showcased a group of Kanak men, women and children (Photo 20 below). This exhibition was extremely popular, attracting 24 million viewers in just six months (averaging about 133,000 a day, an astronomical number for the 20<sup>th</sup> century). It confirmed the powerful popularity of “human zoos” among Europeans.



Photo 20

Kanak Indigenous men, women and children on display at a human zoo in Paris in 1931. The little girl’s hands are tied at the wrist to the two short logs. The ropes further down the logs suggest that her legs were tied too. She is clearly unable to move, as was no doubt the intention of the organizers. The expression on her face, for a child that young, and the look in her eyes, are physical manifestations of what she is experiencing inside, in addition to the clearly visible physical discomfort she is feeling tied to the pole. The civilized European visitors have come dressed in formal attire for the special occasion. Reddit.com

No non-European man or woman can look at the photo of the child and react the same way as the white onlookers do in this distressing photo. The Kant-Darwin model was firmly and

deeply ensconced within the cognitive structures of the Europeans of the day. For them the Kantian and Social Darwinian conception of the races was a Nature-ordained hierarchy of human-ness. Kant had given a powerful philosophic articulation to these beliefs that sat tacitly and firmly in European minds.

When the French onlookers, and other Europeans from other countries who no doubt flocked to the exhibition, gazed at the little girl, they were not looking at a white child but at a child of some other species. The onlookers do not recognize in the child the attributes of full humanity that Kant stipulates is constitutive of humanity and deserving of dignity—rationality, moral capacity, inborn capacity for self-direction, civilizational capacity, etc.—and so they are unable to summon the revulsion and outrage at the dehumanization and cruelty being inflicted on the child and her fellow Kanak adults.

The emotions of the European onlookers and their connection with the child were more like the emotion they felt at seeing a monkey child. They did not feel compassion for the child, nor did they feel her discomfort, hunger, inability to move, bewilderment, crying for the protective and loving arms of her parents—nothing. The child’s face, the look in her eyes, her wrist and arms, would soften the most hardened and emotionally inert heart, but they were obviously not enough to make even a tiny dent in the hearts of the 24 million who came, saw her, went back and, over a warm cup of coffee in front of their fireplace, smugly felt proud at having been anointed the master race tasked with civilizing the likes of the little Kanak girl.

There was a cruel and supreme irony in these events. The vast majority of the European visitors did not know that their high standard of living, especially their material well-being, had been made possible by European colonization of the very peoples whose “specimens” they had come to see and discover whether these creatures were humans or apes.

European imperialism extracted precious natural resources from the lands of these cruelly treated people, and these natural resources were then processed into finished products that Europeans consumed and furthered their civilized way of life. The visitors sweetly handing out crumbs to the small black girl at the zoo in Paris (Photo 17) could feel morally righteous because, as Kant assured them, they were the perfect human race and were therefore cosmically endowed with the right to go anywhere in the world and treat the world as their home. Kant indubitably did not apply the term “cosmopolitan” to the colored races—they, the colored races, dare not think that the world is their home and therefore they can go to Europe and, by rights, live there. Had he been our contemporary, Kant would have been one of the most anti-immigration voices in Europe.

## German and Belgian Eugenics in Rwanda<sup>66</sup>

Eugenics, like Kant's race theory, constructs a correspondence between an individual's physical features and his non-physical (moral) part. But it differs from Kant's theory in some fundamental ways. Kant was singularly fixated on skin color, whereas eugenicists focused on the face. Antisemitism drew upon eugenics to depict Jews in stereotypical ways: hooked noses, dark curly hair and thick lips. The eugenics idea that an individual's bodily features revealed his moral qualities lacked the sort of metaphysical and transcendental grounding that Kant provided for his theory of race.

A most unexpected application of eugenics occurred in colonial Rwanda.<sup>67</sup> After World War I Rwanda was taken away from the Germans and handed over to Belgium. Eugenics had by then—early 20<sup>th</sup> century—become a respected scientific discipline in Europe and the US. Both the Germans and Belgians introduced eugenics into their colonial policies in Rwanda.

The Tutsis presented the colonial powers with a seeming contradiction to their white supremacy ideology. The Tutsis were tall, elegant, lighter in color, had larger skull size, etc. But they were black. Ideology prevailed over empirical reality. Instead of rethinking their ideology, the Belgians came up with the idea that the Tutsis must have originated in Europe and were of Caucasian ancestry. In the 1920s, Belgian ethnologists measured skulls, height and other physical features of Rwandans and incorporated these measurements into their administrative policies.

## African Americans

### The Murder of Emmett Till

In the summer of 1955 young Emmett Till, aged 14, entered a small family grocery store in Money, a small Mississippi town. The proprietor, 21-year-old Carolyn Bryant, accused Till of flirting with her and grabbing her by the waist. A few days later, sometime between 2:00 and 3:30 AM at night, Carolyn's husband Roy and his half-brother J. W. Milam went to the house where Till was living. They seized Till from his bed and drove off with him to an isolated barn where they mutilated him before shooting him dead.

In 2008, Carolyn Bryant (she would have been 74 then) confessed in an interview that she had lied about young Till grabbing her by the waist. Even though the two killers openly admitted that they had killed Till, they were acquitted by the court. The quote below, memorialized in a

---

<sup>66</sup> I want to thank Noorani Tejani for researching the history of Rwanda for this essay.

<sup>67</sup> A useful entry point into this subject is the Wikipedia article, "History of Rwanda." [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Rwanda](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Rwanda)



plaque housed at the National Civil Rights Museum in Washington D. C., is one of the most brazen examples of the sense of impunity with which southern whites could heartlessly destroy the life of someone as young as Till. Note that Milam does not say that Till claimed, in words, that he was as good as a white man. Milam says that Till “thought” that he was as good as a white man. And how did Milam determine what Till thought? He does not tell us. For him, Till did not deserve to live because he *thought*, let alone utter, words claiming moral equality with the white man. The Kantian view of the moral inferiority of the black-skinned race is unmistakable in Milam’s justification for killing Till.<sup>68</sup>

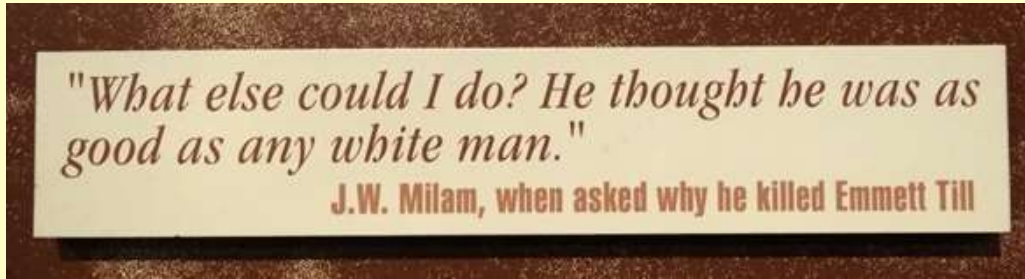


Photo 21

Quote from the killer of Emmett Till. National Civil Rights Museum. Adam Jones, Own Work

## V

### Contemporary Racism and the Kant-Darwin Model

The status of the Kant-Darwin model today can be gauged from two different perspectives. The first is ongoing racism in contemporary Eurogenic societies. As the selected examples below demonstrate, most, if not all, forms of white racism toward African Americans conform to the Kant-Darwin model. The second perspective is that of the model’s place within the academic philosophy establishment as a whole but especially among Kantian philosophers. I argue below that the Kant-Darwin model has provoked what can only be described as “apologetics,” that is, a movement to defend Kant against the charge of racism.

The rise of genetics and the modern theory of evolution have finally laid to rest the Social Darwinism that had plagued ethnology and anthropology. But the scientific discrediting of Social Darwinism has not dissuaded those who insist that it is true. Whether an instance of racism is an instance of Kantian raciology without the Social Darwin component, or whether

---

<sup>68</sup> A good place to begin for information about Emmett Till is the Wikipedia article, “Emmett Till.” Till became an icon of the civil rights movement and remains an ever-present figure in the African American community. But most white Americans are ignorant of him.

it is an instance of the full Kant-Darwin model, depends on the facts of the case, including the words that were spoken in the incident.

## Treatment of African Americans in the US

The passing of the historic Civil Rights Act in 1964 led people all over the world to believe that Americans had at last come to grips with the legacy of slavery and lynching. America had now embarked along a new road leading toward the America that the Founding Fathers had envisioned for Americans. But the election of Donald Trump shattered this halcyonism of the last half century. Liberal and progressive Americans are bewildered and dazed, as if a Taser gun had felled them, by the success of Donald Trump in the election of 2016. An unsettling ingredient contributing to the liberals' incomprehension of Trump's victory is that it was an unexpected and shocking reversal of the euphoric optimism generated by the election of Barack Obama. But the omens had begun to appear during Obama's presidency. One of them was the defiant in-your-face spike in police brutality toward African Americans.

The treatment today of African Americans by police officers and law enforcement, when set against the background and achievements of the Civil Rights Act, defies comprehension. It defies comprehension only because the liberals and progressives deluded themselves into believing that just because racism and racial discrimination had been banned and made punishable by *legislation*, it was not necessary to change the *hearts* where racism lived. The mainstream media, depending on ratings to pull in advertising money, was always eager to give prime time coverage to some black teenager who stole a Mars chocolate bar and was sentenced to 20 years in prison by a white judge.

In my 30-year experience working alongside and with white American coworkers, I have come to realize that many liberals, more than progressives, are camouflaged Albert Schweitzers who wish to remain permanent mentors to the blacks—that is why they take the black vote for granted. One only has to recall how Hillary Clinton behaved toward the Black Lives Matter movement and its leaders during the 2016 presidential campaign. Bill Clinton, as president, refused to veto the heartless welfare reform bill<sup>69</sup> that the Republican-controlled Congress had passed and sent to him to sign, which he did. The Catholic Church was so outraged by the bill and by Clinton's support for it that it took out a full-page advertisement in the New York Times condemning the Republicans and Bill Clinton.

### Police Departments

The treatment of African Americans by American law enforcement and the larger criminal justice system is unquestionably the most egregious contemporary example of white racism

---

<sup>69</sup> The Act is titled *Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA)*.

toward black people. The wanton manner in which white police officers cut down black men (and women) is such a frequent occurrence that it is only with difficulty that one can choose the most outrageous example of coldblooded gunning down of black men, in some instances being shot to death in the back.

A young black man is shot to death for walking in the middle of a street. A 12-year-old boy is shot to death by police officers who jump out of their vehicle and start shooting even before it has come to a full stop. A white neighbor had called the police and reported a suspicious looking black man. That was enough for the police officers to rush to the scene and kill the boy.

#### “I Can’t Breathe”: Eric Garner

Eric Garner’s case will live in infamy because the killing of the black man was captured on a smartphone and played numerous times for the entire world to watch. Most readers of this essay will remember Eric Garner, who died under the weight of several New York police officers who had piled on top of him. Viewers can hear him plead, “I can’t breathe!” to no avail.

#### “I Can’t Breathe”: George Floyd

In the aftermath of Eric Garner’s murder by police officers, many white Americans believed that the police departments would be wary of getting caught on video committing a similar crime. But a predator cannot cease to be a predator—the scent of “black blood” is simply too irresistible for the white police officers. True to form, George Floyd was killed by police officer Derek Chauvin in such a monstrous manner that words fail me as I seek to describe Chauvin’s conduct and glimpse into his heart and mind.

The case is developing rapidly before a transfixed world audience. I do not need to repeat the facts. I want to try and step inside Chauvin’s heart and mind and see what is in them that prompted him to not just dig his knee into Floyd’s neck but to continue doing so even after Floyd had gone limp and was no longer responding. Officer Chauvin persisted in maintaining his knee for more than two minutes after Floyd went limp. Meanwhile, the onlookers were screaming at him to let go. He just ignored them. How is one to explain this Nazi-category savagery?

Officer Chauvin did not regard Floyd as a human being. Worse, he could not have regarded him as an animal. He probably has pets at home. It would never occur to him—or to any of the innumerable white fellow officers who would love to kill a black man as a “trophy”—to pin down a dog and dig his knee into the animal’s neck. That would be very *uncivilized* of him. It is not what white people do.

The truth is that Officer Chauvin—and other white officers like him—regard the black man neither as a human being nor as an animal but as some other species with zero animal rights, let alone human rights. His cold-bloodedness, his heartlessness, his sadism, his single-mindedness, his deliberate deafness to Floyd’s cries, his smug smirk that he was serving the white race’s cause in preserving white European civilization—all this and more, where do they come from? For Officer Chauvin was not born with these sentiments, attitudes and images of the black people. He acquired them as he grew up. But it was the assurance of his police department and the criminal justice system that nothing would happen to him no matter how open-and-shut the case against him—that there would be no costs—that unchained him from his already weakened conscience and released him to tear into George Floyd the way a hungry tiger tears into its helpless prey.

Officer Chauvin, in viewing George Floyd to be beneath even animals, has out-Kanted Kant himself. Kant may have been unwilling to dignify the black race with complete human nature, but they were at least human, not animals. Officer Chauvin makes Kant look like an equalitarian.

### The Case of Ahmaud Arbery

No police officer would shoot down a stray dog wandering in the middle of a street. If he did, the American public would be outraged and would call for punishing the officer. Nor would a group of beefy police officers pin down a dog and sit on top of it until it dies. A black police officer who shoots a *white* man in the back while he is running away would cause an uproar among Americans. He would definitely be charged and found guilty of first degree murder.

The shooting to death of Ahmaud Arbery in Brunswick, Georgia, by a former police officer and his son is another fresh case of the Kant-Darwin model at work. I just remarked above that no white police officer would shoot and kill a stray dog cantering on a road. Yet Ahmaud Arbery was doing just that: jogging on a street in his own neighborhood. On February 23 of this year he was out doing his daily run, waving to neighbors as they saw him glide past them. He saw a truck parked by the side of the road, so he skirted around it and carried on jogging. He did not know that the two men with the truck would instantly grab their firearms, jump into the truck, chase the young man and shoot him in the chest at close range multiple times until he fell to the ground. He was dead by the time the police arrived.

The father-son pair invoked the “stand your ground” law that allows an individual to “stand his ground” and kill the person he believes poses a threat to him. The earlier case of Trayvon Martin in New York brought this little-known law to the attention of the American public.

The white pair claimed that Ahmaud posed a threat to them, so they acted in self-defense. The father also claimed that Ahmaud attacked the son, who shot him in self-defense.

There are several aspects of this case that are worth pointing out although they are not new to African Americans.

- After he has killed a young black man, all that the police officer needs to do is claim that he felt his life was in danger. The encounter with the black man can be as harmless as one can imagine, but if the police officer says he felt threatened, then all is fine. For example, he can claim that the teenager looked at him with threatening eyes, and he had to act in self-defense even though the teenager was not carrying any weapon, let alone a gun. A white grand jury would accept this defense. It does not matter that the man was shot in the back, as has happened in several cases.
- The language of the “stand your ground” law is race-neutral and can, in principle, be invoked by a black man who kills a white man in a black neighborhood. In practice, however, the black man would be charged with murder. The law is effectively legalized vigilantism and is intended for white people who regard themselves as the true proprietors of the land. A black man walking at night in a white neighborhood can be shot and killed by a resident—the “stand your ground” law is intended for ordinary citizen, not necessarily the police—who views the black man as an intruder on his land.
- The mindset of the two white men has barely received the scrutiny that it deserves. They are standing by their truck, presumably parked in front of their home. They see a young black man jogging toward them, skirt around them, and they grab their weapons, jump into the vehicle, catch up with him and shoot him dead. Just like that. Did the two even exchange any words, or did they just look at each other and know what they had to do? These two white men had to have a conception of black people as non-human animals who do not have the right to be in their white neighborhood—the way rats do not have the right to be in the neighborhood—and must be taken out. A stray dog has more rights than a black man.
- White Americans have always looked upon such incidents as “bad apple” incidents that are not representative of them. Yet white police officers across the fifty states exhibit similar attitudes and behavior toward black people, and they offer the same formulaic excuses for killing a black man. And these excuses or defenses work every time. The grand juries refuse to press charges. The police departments without fail genuflect to their defense and blame the victim for provoking the police officer to respond in self-defense.

- It is not just the police departments and grand juries and prosecutors who operate on the same wavelength. The entire criminal justice system is permeated with the image of black people as not quite human enough to be treated equally as white people. When a young black man is treated with less respect than a dog, when he is treated like a wild animal that can be chased, hunted and shot dead—the way a white hunter might shoot a lion—then what we are witnessing in the police departments is the very active exemplification of the Kant-Darwin model.

There are two enduring characterizations of young black men that run deep in white American society, not just in police departments. The first portrays them as so wild in their animal-ness that they are wilder than the wildest and most fearsome predators. The typical police report dutifully claims that the unarmed young man violently attacked the police officer, who acted in self-defense and shot him dead. In the Ahmaud Arbery case, the father claimed in his report that Ahmaud violently attacked his son, who shot him dead in self-defense.

Let me quote a black American on how white Americans view them. Paul Butler is the Albert Brick Professor of Law at Georgetown University.

There comes a point when you have to ask why. Why would any human being treat another human being in this way? The most persuasive explanation for these viral videos of US cops wilding out: *they don't think of blacks as human beings. They think they are more like apes.* It's a fact proven by social scientists, and the best way of understanding how the police could treat anybody with such disdain... What happens when cops treat people in ways that are literally inhumane? Usually nothing. The police most often get away with it.<sup>70</sup> [My italics]

Brazil's president Jair Bolsonaro, speaking about the country's "Indians" (Indigenous people) in a Facebook broadcast, offered this comment:

Indians are undoubtedly changing... They are increasingly becoming *human beings just like us.*<sup>71</sup> [My italics]

We recall that Kant's raciology effectively posits four different types of human natures. White human nature is the same as human nature. The other human natures are defective human natures. As Kant describes it, the European race mentors the lower races in civilizational

---

<sup>70</sup> "I have to shoot you in front of your fucking kids: How cops dehumanize black people." *The Guardian*, June 29, 2019. Butler is a former federal prosecutor. He is the author of *Chokehold: Policing Black Men*. [[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/jun/28/i-could-have-shot-you-in-front-of-your-fucking-kids-how-cops-dehumanize-black-people?CMP=share\\_btn\\_link](https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/jun/28/i-could-have-shot-you-in-front-of-your-fucking-kids-how-cops-dehumanize-black-people?CMP=share_btn_link)]

<sup>71</sup> "Jair Bolsonaro's racist comment sparks outrage from indigenous groups." *The Guardian*, January 24, 2020. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/jan/24/jair-bolsonaro-racist-comment-sparks-outrage-indigenous-groups>

matters, and, as a result of this impeccable and altruistic tutoring, the lower races elevate themselves and come closer to the Europeans in their civilizational attainments. Their human natures become more like the human nature of the Europeans, and since European human nature reflects the complete human being, Bolsonaro's remarks about the "Indians" are perfectly in accord with Kant's vision of an End Times at which defective human beings have become as European in their human nature as their built-in limitations allow. Kantians should be happy that Bolsonaro is doing his European bit to bring about Kant's End Times.

The second enduring image of the black man is that of the criminal. Black skin means criminality. This image is a post-Civil Rights Act image, a new image of the black man as a danger to the white man. He is especially dangerous to white women. In the 1980s there were a few high profile cases involving black men allegedly raping white women. The two most famous cases were seized upon by the media and relentlessly portrayed, through shrewd framing, as representative of the black race: the Willie Horton case and Central Park Jogger case.<sup>72</sup>

White Americans do not see anything untoward in these two images. They have been fed this diet for decades by mainstream networks in the US (CNN, Fox, CBS, others) and Canada (CBC). These mainstream organizations would report on some gang or drug-related violence in black neighborhoods and frame it within the Kant-Darwin framework. Kant did not describe the black race as animals. It was Social Darwinists who did that. The American media, always supporting law enforcement, vastly inflated the Social Darwin depiction of blacks as the most animal-like compared to the other, higher, races. It was they, relentlessly and cumulatively over the 80s and 90s, who constructed the image of the black man as an irrational self-destructive animal who, even though unarmed, lashes out at gun-carrying police officers without caring for his own life. In the real jungles and forests, however, even the most fearsome of the predators—tiger, cheetah, lioness, others—do not attack wantonly just because they are tigers, cheetahs or lionesses. They attack for "rational" reasons consistent with their species-specific rationality. They are not wanton in their attacks—but the black man in America is.

White police officers kill black men, especially young black men, the way the Nazi Kommandant Amon Göth, played with chilling brilliance by Ralph Fiennes in the film *Schindler's List* (1993), nonchalantly pumps bullets into any Jew who happens to pass by him. To Kommandant Göth the Jews were not human beings but objects like empty soda cans to shoot at for fun.

Kantian racism afflicts not just individual officers. It animates the culture within police departments, prisons, indeed the entire criminal justice system in the US. Grand juries are "go through the motions" spectacles of fake objectivity to assuage the white American public that

---

<sup>72</sup> There is extensive online literature on these two cases. The Wikipedia entries are a useful starting point.

a fair assessment of the evidence is being conducted to determine if there are sufficient grounds for charging the police officer or officers who killed the black man. With the rare exception, charges are never brought against the police officers.

White police officers wantonly destroy a black life with impunity because they know that their colleagues and the police departments all over the country will come to their defense and “cover their backs.” They act on the certainty that they will not be punished or charged by the grand jury.

### **Police Unions and Federations**

White Americans have heard a constant stream of complaints by colored Americans that police departments act brutally and with impunity toward them. They had ignored these complaints until they witnessed the manner in which George Floyd was killed by Officer Derek Chauvin. There is today a very discernible shift in white attitudes toward the police departments, a greater willingness to give credence to Black complaints.

But the same cannot be said of the police unions, fraternal orders and federations. It is doubtful whether most white Americans even knew that these bodies exist. Today they know that they exist. Americans who are governed by and whose interests are advanced by their respective professional bodies—colleges of physicians and surgeons, associations of engineers, architects, lawyers, and others—want their bodies to act swiftly against a member whose conduct violates the norms and credibility of the profession. Physicians do not want a sexual abuser to retain his license to practice. This principle also governs the many labor unions: they will not tolerate a sex predator who brings shame on his fellow union members.

The police unions, fraternal orders and federations are in a class of their own when it comes to responding to a fellow police officer who wantonly and sadistically kills a defenseless man in broad daylight. Irrespective of how egregious and open-and-shut the case is, these groups reflexively jump to the defense of their fellow officer. They did so in the case of Officer Derek Chauvin who maintained his knee on George Floyd’s neck for more than two minutes after Floyd had gone limp and was no longer responding.

They did so in the case of Atlanta police officer Garrett Rolfe who killed Rayshard Brooks. In the case of Officer Rolfe, the Georgia Law Enforcement Organization, a pro-police entity, raised more than \$250,000 to help Rolfe meet his legal expenses. The Atlanta police union attacked the arrest of Officer Rolfe for violating due process. They argued that he was arrested before charges had been filed against him. They were coming to the defense of a fellow officer who had shot Brooks in the back as he was running away from him and had already run several feet away. Then, as he lay dying, instead of calling for medical help, he stood on



Brooks' shoulders the way a hunter stands on his trophy kill. To Officer Rolfe, a black man who resists arrest has forfeited his right to live and the right to due process. He may even shoot the absconding man in the back and execute him.

### **Infiltration of Police Departments and Unions by KKK and Supremacists**

Decades of pro-police law-and-order programs on television and sensationalization of petty black teenage crime has fostered a very supportive attitude and sentiment for the police among white Americans. They are completely ignorant of and very unwilling to believe that the KKK and supremacists have had a long-term agenda to infiltrate police departments and police unions under whose legal cover they would be able to continue their lynching of blacks in a different form: gun them down.<sup>73</sup>

Police unions and federations are among the most powerful “labor” unions in the country. They extract from city and state governments terms in their contracts that handcuff the governments and even police commissioners from introducing and implementing reforms demanded by the public. They are very skillful in their public relations campaigns aimed at frightening the public about crime and drugs and of successfully persuading the public to support them.

### **Republican Electoral Gerrymandering and Disenfranchisement**

The Republican Party is well known for its longstanding project to redraw the electoral maps through gerrymandering that guarantees Republican victories in elections. A key component of this project consists of various legal and technical rules that disenfranchise African American voters. For example, a Republican mayor of a small town, guided by the National Republican Party (NRP), removes or does not open a voting center in the black area of the town to ensure that blacks will not vote or will not be able to come to the distant voting centers in the white area of the town.

### **American Civil Society: Institutional Racism**

One of the “cunning” white American responses to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was to institutionalize—that is, camouflage—racism in the technical rules and “objective” and “impersonal” procedures manuals of institutions like banks, real estate and insurance

---

<sup>73</sup> The latest scholarly study of this phenomenon is that of Vida B. Johnson, “KKK in the PD: White Supremacist Police and What to do About It.” *Lewis & Clark Law Review*, 23, 1, Article 2, April 1, 2019. Johnson is Professor of Law at Georgetown University Law Center. The article carries an extensive bibliography that would serve as an excellent starting point for any graduate student interested in pursuing this subject to greater depth.

companies. The sincere-eyed loans officer or insurance agent could now raise his hands in apology and, in a sad voice, tell the black applicant, “Sir, I have nothing to do with this policy. I am just doing my job.” Institutional racism is invidious because of its “positive law” and “objective” mask that “emancipates” the employee from any accusations of personal racism. Institutional racism is *agent-less* racism, having been sublimated to senior management and the sanctuary of the “corporation as person” refuge.

### **Questioning Black Intelligence: *The Bell Curve* Debate**

I have referred above to the Central Park Jogger case (1989) and the Willie Horton case (1987). These two cases, along with a steady stream of news reports throughout the 1980s, added a new dimension to the already negative image of the young African American male: criminality.

These different aspects of the image of the young black man in America formed the background to the explosive publication of *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life* (1994), by Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray. Adopting a psychological approach and using the conceptual models and methods of the discipline of psychology, the authors argued that intelligence—as defined and used in the discipline of psychology and measured as IQ, Intelligence Quotient—has genetic as well as environmental input. In other words, intelligence is partly inherited; it is not entirely formed by external factors.

The authors then presented a wide range of data from different disciplines and concluded that black Americans were genetically predisposed to low intelligence, low economic achievement and poverty, and greater criminality than white Americans. They argued that public policy should be based on realistic and accurate scientific findings about race and its genetic link to intelligence. One of their proposals was to cut welfare funding for (predominantly black) poor women to have babies:

The technically precise description of America’s fertility policy is that it subsidizes births among poor women, who are also disproportionately at the low end of the intelligence distribution. We urge generally that these policies...be ended. [p. 548]

There is a sizable literature on the controversy that followed the publication of the book. There are three aspects of the subsequent fallout of the book that are of relevance to my discussion. The first is the reaction of the media to the book’s conclusions about intelligence, and the second is the role of the controversy in Bill Clinton’s public policies regarding welfare. The third is the eerily Kantian thesis the authors present and defend.

## Media Reaction to *The Bell Curve*

Almost without exception, the (overwhelmingly white) mainstream media focused on the genetic component of intelligence. They highlighted the role of inherited intelligence and its racial distribution as an accurate explanation of the poverty, crime, and low educational achievements of blacks in general but of young black men in particular.

## Bill Clinton as President

The Clintons have remained the darlings of American liberals. But during their heyday in the White House, both Bill and Hillary, seeking to attract soft Republicans, launched an unprecedented (for Democrats) negative campaign against young black men. Bill Clinton signed the Welfare Reform Act<sup>74</sup> that had incorporated some of *The Bell Curve*'s proposals, specifically those relating to poor women.

Michelle Alexander, writing in *The Nation* magazine, recalls an incident from Bill Clinton's campaign.

Just weeks before the critical New Hampshire primary, Clinton proved his toughness by flying back to Arkansas to oversee the execution of Ricky Ray Rector, a mentally impaired black man who had so little conception of what was about to happen to him that he asked for the dessert from his last meal to be saved for him for later. After the execution, Clinton remarked, "I can be nicked a lot, but no one can say I'm soft on crime."<sup>75</sup>

## Hillary Clinton

Hillary Clinton's hostility toward African Americans exceeds that of Bill Clinton. As First Lady, she was an aggressive campaigner for his "tough on crime" policies. In one of her most notorious remarks about blacks, she said "they are not just gangs of kids anymore. They are often the kinds of kids that are called ...they are super-*predators*. *No conscience*, no empathy...We have to bring them to heel."<sup>76</sup> [My italics]

The words "super-predators" and "conscience" unveil the Kant-Darwin model governing the thought, emotion and language of which these two words are representative. By using the word "predators," Hillary Clinton invoked the Social Darwin vulgarization of Darwin's theory of evolution: she saw the black kids as animals belonging to the jungle with fellow predators. Apes and monkeys are not predators in the same league as lions, tigers, leopards, etc. The Kant-Darwin model places blacks nearer the apes, whereas Clinton has gone beyond the

---

<sup>74</sup> The Act is titled *Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA)*.

<sup>75</sup> "Why Hillary Clinton Doesn't Deserve the Black Vote," Michelle Alexander, *The Nation*, February 10, 2016.

<sup>76</sup> See above, Footnote 75.

model and placed black kids among the most ferocious predators, indeed, beyond even these ferocious predators by calling the black kids “super-predators.”

Clinton, however, goes a step further. She combines the Kant-Darwin model’s beast classification of the black race with criminality, which was one of the prime incentives for the authors of *The Bell Curve*. Clinton was asserting that black kids were not just wild predator animals, they were also criminal by virtue of their black race. Neither Kant nor Darwin said anything about criminality among the lower races, although Kant obliquely points to it when he remarks that the transcendently endowed defective human natures of the lower races renders them incapable of the rule of law.

There is yet one more very significant Kantian element to Clinton’s remarks: her comment that black kids have “no conscience.” In Kant’s raciology, only the perfect white race is endowed with conscience, the internal judge of one’s conduct. This restriction of conscience to the white race is consistent with his transcendental grounding of the races: only the white race is endowed with the full untrammelled reign of Practical Reason that directs the white European’s actions and ensures that these actions are ethical—in Kant’s ethical philosophy, an action is ethical only when it is implementing the command of Practical Reason. Conscience is Practical Reason evaluating and judging the (white) individual’s actions. Therefore, since the lower races are not endowed with Practical Reason—or, at best, are imperfectly endowed—they cannot possess conscience since conscience is a special function of Practical Reason.

When we take into account the rankings of the races that Kant himself set up, placing the black and red races at the bottom of the table, the black race is left with near-zero conscience. Hillary Clinton was being very Kantian when she declared that black kids have no conscience. She was—and I am sure still is—quite unaware that she is carrying the Kant-Darwin model in her cognitive system. As I have remarked elsewhere in this essay, most white Eurogenic people imbibe the Kant-Darwin model without knowing it. They do not have to read Kant or Darwin to acquire it because classifying the human-ness of the different races on the basis of skin color was a notion that had permeated European society long before Kant systematized and formalized it into a conceptually tightly integrated philosophic theory.

### *The Bell Curve’s Kantian Raciology*

There are four elements in *The Bell Curve* that correspond to four key elements in Kant’s raciology. Three of them have obvious correspondence: skin color, intelligence, and morality. The fourth is not that obvious: in *The Bell Curve*, it is *genes* and genetic endowment, while in Kant it is the *Keime*, a transcendental endowment.

The correspondence between *genes* and Kant's *Keime* is closer than we might like to believe. Both of them are endowments of Nature and are transcendental in that sense. Both of them interact with the environment and, through this interaction, the built-in or endowed capacities, which exist as potentialities, unfold and acquire "expression" as actualized intelligence and morality. In modern genetics, what is "expressed" is one of the *alleles* of the gene. In Kant, what is "expressed" is one of the "alleles" of skin color in the *Keime*: black, red, yellow, white.

*The Bell Curve* now makes the match with Kant complete by claiming that intelligence is built into the gene (a view not shared by geneticists and evolutionary biologists). Kant has built human nature (and its component, intelligence) into the *Keime*, which couples it to skin color. The human nature-skin color principle is the cornerstone of his thought.

Just as Kant's *Keime* sets boundaries on thought and action for the race, and at the same time prompts thoughts and actions within these bounds, so the gene sets bounds on thought and action, and at the same time prompts thoughts and actions. In the case of black youth, their gene limits their intellectual and moral capacities and at the same time prompts them to think of committing crimes, which they then proceed to commit.

*The Bell Curve*, in defiance of modern genetics, has gone over to Kant's side and become a full-blown contemporary representative of the Kant-Darwin theory of race.

### **Mixed-Blood Races: Kant's Skin-Color Theory is Still Active Today**

Americans are very familiar with the phenomenon of mixed races involving a white partner and a colored partner. In every such case, the child is viewed by Americans as a colored person, not as a white person. President Obama is half white, half black. We all remember the nauseating "birther" campaign by Donald Trump while Obama was still in the White House. Biologically, Obama is half white and half black. But that was not acceptable to Trump and white Americans who, following an old tradition among Europeans, refused to accept him as fellow white.

Just one drop of colored blood destroys the 100% whiteness of a white person's skin color. For the Nazis, the smallest, the faintest, the vaguest Jewish element in a German's body was enough for them to classify him or her as a Jew and send him to the concentration camps and gas chambers.

This deeply entrenched notion that the moment a white person mixes his blood with a colored person, the offspring lose their whiteness and acquire the color of the colored parent, was a strongly held position of Immanuel Kant. The white color is the perfect color, and Europeans are white-skinned precisely because they are the most perfect race of all the races. Their white color is justly commensurate with their civilizational perfection. But for

white color to remain purely white, it cannot accept even the tiniest mixing with another color. If Kant had to resort to a formulaic expression of his belief, he could state it as the formula:

White + Color = Color [general formula]

White + Black = Black [specific instance]

Kant, in fact, was much more rigorous in his conceptualization than are white people today. For him the mixing of colors was not a matter of colors only; it was a matter of the *degeneration* of the human nature of the white race. A drop of black blood introduces defect in the essence of the white race's human nature, in its rational, moral and civilizational capacities all of which are part of its human nature's very essence. Kant remained adamantly opposed to the mixing of the races—miscegenation—till the end.

We should not drop the ball here and lose sight of the real significance of Kant's position on miscegenation. Kant was the foremost conceptualizer among the Enlightenment philosophers. Compared to him, David Hume appears to be verbalizing his prejudices. Kant links *biology* with *transcendental* principles that endow the human being with a color-ranked human nature. Skin color is the bodily expression of a person's human nature and its perfection (white color) or imperfection (colored).

The widespread belief among white Eurogenic peoples that a mixed race child is not a white child merely continues to the present day Kant's philosophically argued objection to the mixing of colors, especially white with another color. I have already noted that Kant did not originate this idea. It has been a feature of white people at least since their direct encounter with the Indigenous populations of the Americas and Christopher Columbus's encounter with the Native Americans off the eastern coast of the US.

It bears repeating that the notion that skin color as a biological expression of different human natures pre-dates Kant's tightly argued defense of this notion. He transformed what was popular opinion into a respectable philosophical doctrine. White Americans and their white fellow Europeans may not be aware that their belief that a white person loses his or her whiteness if they have even the faintest color in them, is a Kantian doctrine they are living every day of their lives. White people are perpetuating Kant's raciology and keeping it alive through their commitment to their beliefs about miscegenation.

### **Treatment of Indigenous Peoples in Europe and Eurogenic Countries**

Indigenous peoples in Eurogenic countries continue to be subjected to racism that conforms to the Kant-Darwin model. Canada, Central and South America, Australia and New Zealand

have devised their own “let’s keep this below the radar” schemes for hiding from the world community their brutal treatment of the Indigenous peoples in their countries.

In Europe itself the Sami and Romani/Gypsy peoples have been persecuted and treated as animals by their governments. The Sami are an aboriginal people living in the northernmost regions of Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. These white governments have systematically grabbed aboriginal lands and enacted laws intended to weaken if not completely destroy Sami culture and subsistence economy.

The Romani (Gypsy) are the most persecuted non-white minority community all over Europe. They originated in northwest India several centuries ago and migrated toward Europe. The Nazis targeted them for destruction along with the Jews. European states have continued the Nazi dehumanization of the tiny, powerless, voiceless and marginalized groups of a few families forced to live on the outskirts of urban centers in European cities. Of all the minorities in Europe, the Romani are the most powerless, with no voice at all in the political systems of their countries.

Muslims, in contrast, are already represented in the political system and in other major sectors of European society. The discriminations they face and the real Islamophobia that is promoted in European society by the mainstream media and political parties is real and obviously injurious to Europe’s Muslims, but these are problems that are slowly being overcome precisely because Muslims today are gaining political muscle and are represented in the major political parties of Europe. Major European cities elect Muslim mayors (Sadiq Khan in London). They will become mainstream in due course. No such prospects await the friendless and powerless Romani people. Europe’s Muslims portray themselves as the most persecuted and discriminated group in Europe, oblivious to the much worse plight of the Romani.

The designation of black, Asian and minority ethnic communities as BAME has been receiving front-page coverage for the heroic role of these communities in the Coronavirus epidemic in Britain. BAME medical professionals are disproportionately represented in the National Health Service (NHS), which the Conservatives weakened over the last ten years by cutting off or greatly reducing funding to it. Most of the NHS staff who succumbed to the virus come from BAME backgrounds.

These communities have had their share of white hatred, prejudice, dehumanization, discrimination, deportation (Windrush, etc.) in spite of having lived in Britain all their lives, and so on. But as I remarked in the case of Europe’s Muslims, the BAME communities can look ahead to an upward curve in their status and position in British society. No such optimism is possible for the Romani people. BAME British citizens are rightfully seeking

equality with their white fellow citizens, but they have completely ignored the Romani who, as I observed above, remain powerless and voiceless in the political system and in civil society. If there exists a group who could—and *should*—come to the aid of the Romani and give them political strength, it is the BAME and Muslim communities.

### **The British Home Office: Hostile Environment**

So much has been written about the “hostile environment” policy of the British governments of the past 10-15 years that I cannot justify using up space to repeat what the reader already knows. I will, however, remark that the deliberately sadistic, bureaucratic neo-Nazi policies, rules and decisions of the Home Office, from the minister to the cruel low level foot soldiers, is one of the clearest expressions of the Kant-Darwin model in Britain, for it pits the white European race against the lower colored races (the only color missing is red, because the Native Americans and First Nations in Canada are confined to the reservations).

### **Bretton-Woods, WTO, CIDA, Davos: The “International System”**

Perhaps the most famous expose of the European attitude and policies toward Africa was the late Walter Rodney’s book, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (1969). The book makes painful reading even today for anyone who cares about Africa.

Yet it can be argued that the so-called “international system” that coordinates, in a hegemonic manner, the major institutions that are engaged in “international development” with African countries, has not only continued to hollow out Africa’s natural resources, but that it has become impossible for African governments to free themselves from its stranglehold. The main reason for this is that all African countries are buried under massive debts to the World Bank and other organizations. Many of them are unable even to pay the monthly interest rates, let alone pay off the principal. The Bank then gives them a new loan to enable the defaulting country to make its next month’s interest payment. African governments have become lifelong indentured servants of the international system.

The animating idea driving these institutions is that black Africa cannot develop to the civilizational levels of Europe or Asia. The deeper and unacknowledged conviction held by these institutions is the Kantian view that the black race is simply not endowed with the intellectual and moral capacities of the higher races and must therefore remain under their tutelage. The Bretton-Woods institutions (World Bank, IMF) then craft their development policies so as to institutionalize this deeply held conviction.



The international development community was rocked in 2004 by the publication of a whistleblowing book, *Confessions of an Economic Hit Man*, by John Perkins.<sup>77</sup> Perkins was an insider at a leading American bank. He reveals that his bank and other institutions deliberately set out to persuade African leaders to borrow money from them precisely because they knew that sooner or later these countries would default on their payments. The defaulting countries would then come under the grip of the lending institution and would be willing to do whatever the bank wanted it to do. Perkins then went on to publish sequels to his original book. I remarked above that African governments today have been snared in the vice of indentured servitude. Perkins was one of the “hit men” who met with African leaders and lured them into this vice. The overarching game plan, emanating from the Kantian doctrine of the races, was for Eurogenic countries to gain unfettered access to the vast natural resources of the continent, resources that Africans will never be able to develop on their own.

Sadly, during the 70s through the 90s, many African leaders were corrupt and interested in siphoning off the foreign currencies their countries brought in from exports and diverting them into their private bank accounts in Swiss banks. The few who were conscientious but already trapped in the grip of the World Bank and the IMF felt humiliated at the prejudices being directed toward Africa by Europeans. One of them, Benjamin Mkapa, a former president of Tanzania, complained at a World Economic Forum meeting in Davos some years ago that Africans were being treated like “mendicants.”

## Soccer

### Monkey Chants, Monkey Gestures, Bananas

My last brief note on contemporary examples of the Kant-Darwin model comes from sports in Europe. Racism toward black football players has been a plague for decades. Black women have not been spared either. A black footballer may be one of the best in the world, as Raheem Sterling of Manchester City is. But it does not exempt him from monkey chants directed toward him by white supporters of the opposing team. The chants are typically accompanied by monkey gestures, and other supporters throw bananas or banana peels at black players.

We should not fail to recognize the significance of the monkey in these episodes: the monkey (or ape) is a key element in Social Darwinism’s theory that the black race or “species” is more ape-like than it is human. It was this theory to which ethnologists and anthropologists in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century were drawn and that inspired them to organize human zoos in which someone like Ota Benga was caged with monkeys and apes (as I have discussed above, Photo 11).

---

<sup>77</sup> *Confessions of an Economic Hit Man*, John Perkins, 2004.

## Photojournalism and the Media

### Dying African Child Stalked by a Vulture

On March 26, 1993 the New York Times caused a sensation and uproar when it published a photo (Photo 22) of a starving south Sudanese child, slumped on the ground and too weak to stand up, seemingly on the verge of death from famine. A patient vulture lurked behind it.



Photo 22

Kevin Carter photographed this dying Sudanese child while a vulture waited in the background for it to die. Wikipedia

The photo was shot by photographer Kevin Carter, who was in the area covering famine for the UN, which hoped to raise funds by publicizing the famine. He came across a child with its head on the ground under the scorching heat and shot not just one but, in his words, “lots” of pictures. He ran back to his colleague Silva and reported to him:

You won’t believe what I’ve just shot...I was shooting this kid on her<sup>78</sup> knees, and then changed my angle, and suddenly there was this vulture right behind her...*And I just kept shooting—shot lots of film!*<sup>79</sup> [My italics]

Carter told Silva that he had become emotionally troubled by what he had done:

---

<sup>78</sup> Carter had mistakenly thought that the child was a girl. It was a boy.

<sup>79</sup> *The Bang-Bang Club: Snapshots from a Hidden War*. Greg Marinovich and João Silva, 2000.

I see all this, and all I can think of is Meghan [Carter's young daughter].

Nearly seven years later, an article on Carter in *Time Magazine* provided more details about Carter's encounter with the black child:

As he crouched to photograph her, a vulture landed in view. Careful not to disturb the bird, he positioned himself for the best possible image. He would later say he waited about 20 minutes, *hoping the vulture would spread its wings*. It did not, and after he took his photographs, he chased the bird away and watched as the little girl resumed her struggle. Afterward he sat under a tree, lit a cigarette, talked to God and cried. "He was depressed afterward," Silva recalls. "He kept saying he wanted to hug his daughter."<sup>80</sup> [My italics]

Carter took his own life on July 27, 1994 through carbon monoxide poisoning. In his suicide note, he complains about numerous problems, including the killings in Sudan:

[I am] depressed...without phone...money for rent...money for child support...money for debts...money!!!...I am haunted by the vivid memories of killings & corpses & anger & pain...of starving or wounded children, of trigger-happy madmen, often police, of killer executioners.<sup>81</sup>

### The Reaction to Kevin Carter's Photo

Kevin Carter won the Pulitzer Prize in 1994. He had rocketed to the top of the photojournalism club, was feted by the elite at the most fashionable spots in New York, was sought after for his autograph, etc. The white public were uniformly fixated on the extraordinary spectacle in the photo: a starving black African child, too weak to lift its head from the ground, unaware that a vulture is waiting behind it. It is a most unexpected scene. The Pulitzer committee could not have been unmindful of the African setting of the photo. What the white world sees in it is the wilderness of Africa, its pristine "undeveloped" landscape, the black child—and, by extension, the black race—fitting organically with wild Nature, with no culture or civilization in sight.

The Pulitzer committee no doubt must also have been mindful of the senseless internecine wanton killing perpetrated by blacks on each other. The photo does not show this "uncivilized" aspect of African people, but the committee could rely on the *Times'* narrative to activate the Kant-Darwin model that is lodged firmly and deeply in the minds of the Eurogenic public. Carter could just as well have been a photographer for the *National Geographic* shooting pictures of exotic animals in untamed jungles. The instant rock-star

---

<sup>80</sup> *Time Magazine*, "The Life and Death of Kevin Carter," Scott MacLeod, June 24, 2001. [<http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,165071,00.html>]

<sup>81</sup> *Time Magazine*, "The Life and Death of Kevin Carter," Scott MacLeod, June 24, 2001.

status that Carter received, and the celebratory extravaganza mushrooming all around him, testifies to this “National Geographic” understanding of Carter’s “triumph”: he had captured two animals—the vulture and the black African child—in a scene that would not be repeated.

Consistent with the Kant-Darwin model, there was barely a concern expressed about the moral propriety of Carter’s actions by white journalists and photographers. The odd voice was quickly rebutted by the dogma of journalism, namely, that objectivity overrules any intervention by the journalist to change the dynamics of the events he ought to be capturing for the public. It is not his or her business to judge the morality of the event. They need to be hard-nosed about it, to be brutal with their own emotions—to be cold-bloodedly Kantian!—and keep them in check and get on with fulfilling their journalistic obligations. This was the consensus view offered in defense of Carter.

Black African audiences and journalists judged Carter differently. They pointed out that Carter would have reacted differently had the child been a lost pretty blue-eyed blond girl. Carter would not have reacted to her the way he reacted to the black child, waiting 20 minutes for the vulture to spread its wings when he could have grabbed the child and moved it away from danger.

I would develop this critique of Carter and his defenders by imagining his reaction to seeing a blue-eyed blond girl, starving, ribs showing, hair disheveled and covered with dust as she is too weak to hold up her head, which lies on the ground the way the black child’s head is shown in Carter’s photo. A white small girl in the wilderness of Africa, about to be plucked at by the vulture she does not see. Ruthless and undisciplined black soldiers nearby, killing each other with every weapon in their possession. It is not hard to imagine what Carter would have done. But first let us remind ourselves of the first few moments of the encounter between Carter and the child.

Carter did not at first see the vulture. He saw only the child. Note that the child’s near-death condition did not move him at all. His first reaction was to shoot a photo, and to do so with a better angle. The child’s humanity, its desperation for help, its near-death condition, none of this mattered to Carter. It was when he tried to get a better angle on the child—the way a National Geographic photographer tries to get a better angle on an exotic animal—that the vulture came into his field of vision. He temporarily lost interest in the dying black girl as he obsessed over the vulture and waited for it to spread its wings. He waited 20 minutes—*20 minutes!*—before he gave up and began taking his photos—“lots of them”—of the pair.

What would he have done had the vulture, impatient for food, gone over to the child and had started biting meat off the child while the child was still alive? Would he have continued shooting the scene? Would not *that* photo beat all the photos he had just taken?

In the case of a white girl, I do not have any doubt that Carter would have tossed aside his camera and would have rushed toward the girl, would have grabbed her, would have held her close to himself, would have dusted off the dirt covering her body, would have hugged her to comfort her and to tell her that she was in safe hands, would have fed her whatever food or drink he had with him, would have covered her with his shirt or some other clothing, and would have turned around and headed back to his camp. If he could, he would have radioed his colleagues and asked them to communicate the situation to the girl's parents—and, unlike the situation with the black child, language would not have been a barrier between the white girl and Carter.

Staying with this hypothetical scenario for a little longer: Carter would have remained with the girl all the way to the nearest city—most likely Nairobi—and taken her to the hospital. He would have stayed with the girl, spoken with the doctors and nurses, and he would have told them, “Don't worry about the medical bill. I will take care of it.”

This is a very plausible scenario because Carter himself told his colleague Silva that the black girl reminded him of his own daughter Meghan, that he wanted to hug her. His conscience was pricked because he could not tolerate the thought of Meghan being in the position of the black child. Something deep inside of him had been rattled, but only fleetingly, because once he returned to “civilization” and skyrocketed to fame in New York, it was all about basking in glory and soaking in the adulation of New York high society and the crushes of pretty young women.

### Thought Experiment: Black African Photojournalist

Let me now conjure another scenario that I will argue is equally plausible as is the scenario involving the white girl and Carter's very different reaction to her plight. In this scenario, the journalist is black, not white. What would he do? I contend that irrespective of the color of the child, he would have flung aside his camera and would have dashed toward her and rescued her in much the same way Carter does in my thought experiment involving a white child. The black African journalist would not have viewed the child through the Kantian lens of skin color and treated her according to her human worth as Kant's raciology stipulates.

A second aspect that explains the black journalist's reaction in my thought experiment is the place of journalism in the self-identity of the black African journalist. White journalists are trained—and willing—to view themselves as journalist first and human being or citizen second. This ideal may have been born during the world wars: photographers risked their lives to get in the middle of the cross-fire and take photos of soldiers on both sides killing

each other. He was there not to stop the killing but to witness it and to show it to viewers back home.

Black African journalists—indeed, colored journalists all over the world—readily subscribe to this journalistic value and norm. But cases like the dying black child that Carter saw and did not help cannot be equated, with respect to the journalist’s professional ethics, to the situation of the photographer who places himself between the British and German soldiers firing at each other. In the latter case, the photographer can justify his “non-partisan” or “objective” hands-off stance because he knows that he cannot do anything about it. Had he, to take another example, suddenly found himself facing his two young sons with knives trying to kill each other, the same journalist would have given little thought to his professional ethics—don’t get involved, just take the photos of the fight—and would have intervened and stopped the boys fighting each other (and taken the knives from them). But since we are considering the case of a white photographer, we have to acknowledge that another white photographer would have remained indifferent—“objective”—to the fight and would have taken the photos of one of his sons being fatally stabbed and left to die—garnering him front page space, fame, etc. Would he have been lionized as a “model journalist”

It is my contention that African journalism has not—as of today—reached the level of indifference to getting involved as it has in white journalism. One reason for this lack of “objectivity”—that is, to refrain from saving the dying child—is that African journalists, in common with Africans in general, do not subscribe to a differential conception of color-based human nature, as is the case with white journalists who are unsuspecting Kantians. The principle of “objectivity” and “impartiality” is an excuse for white journalists and photographers to disregard black lives in danger and instead treat them as National Geographic moments involving a leopard pouncing on a deer. Carter’s reaction to the dying black child belonged to this National Geographic category. His deep-seated Kantianism regarded the child as non-human, an animal of the wild. And just as the National Geographic photographer views the leopard killing the deer as “let Nature take its course,” so Carter instinctively reacted out of his Kantian base and regarded the black child and the patient vulture as a case of “let Nature take its course.” African journalists do not have an indigenous Kant-like scheme of different human natures corresponding to skin color. They are unlikely to develop a “let Nature take its course” for human situations.

Carter’s friends and defenders have pointed to his suicide as evidence that he had not forgiven himself for abandoning the black child. Unfortunately, neither his life in the following months nor his suicide note supports this defense. The black child did not figure in his thoughts at all. He became preoccupied with his financial instability and with his drug problem, which unraveled his relationship with his girlfriend. Even his parting words in his suicide note are silent about the black girl. Carter mentions the killings, corpses, starving or wounded children as a group, and no

doubt the black child was one of them. But she was not the hammer-blow to his conscience and the direct cause of his suicide that his friends and supporters wish the public to believe.

Carter's reaction to the black child, and the Eurogenic public's sympathy for Carter for succumbing to the harsh judgment of his conscience, emanate from the Kant-Darwin model that Carter and his white fellows share. That Carter's reflex was to grab his camera and take a photo of the dying child instead of rushing to save her and return her to her parents, is the response one should expect from an individual interacting across racial boundaries under the guidance of the Kant-Darwin model. Carter did not see a fellow human being in the black child. He saw an exotic animal in the wilderness, a sub-human creature with cosmically endowed imperfect humanity not deserving of dignity or fellow feeling, and he reacted in the manner of the National Geographic photographer: position yourself for the "killer" photo and click away, which he does, as he proudly tells Silva.

Carter had one other option, a win-win option that never crossed his mind. *He could have taken his photos and still saved the child.* He claims that he ran toward the vulture and shooed it off, but this claim does not square with his own testimony that he ran to Silva to tell him, breathlessly, what he had just seen and done. Even after dashing off to Silva he could have returned with Silva and picked up the child and taken it to the nearest medical center, most likely Nairobi. The child could not have just run away out of sight (assuming Carter is telling the truth that the child was able to get up and walk away). He and Silva would have definitely saved a white blue-eyed blond girl. There is simply no way for his defenders to square this circle.

## **Redefining Racism as Cultural**

### **Desecrates the Victims of Kant-Darwin Racism**

I am addressing primarily two sets of readers: (1) Africans and African Americans, Indigenous peoples in Eurogenic societies, and Romani/Gypsies; and (2) the American philosophy community and its institutional body, the American Philosophical Association (APA).

The foregoing disquisition, accompanied by some heart-wrenching and morally intolerable photos of lynchings and human zoos, compels me to conclude that if Blacks, Indigenous, Romanis and the American philosophy communities are to make positive and lasting headway on the subject of racism, they must first decide on the meaning of the word "racism" and its lexical siblings ("race" and "racist") and distinguish it from the words "racial" and "racialism." As things stand today, the word "racism" is used more as a moralizing accusing-angel cudgel than as a concept with which the real-life experiences of Blacks, Indigenous and Romani peoples is analyzed and understood.

These considerations apply also to philosophy and the philosophical community. I trust they will be open to acknowledging that my discussion above, and the Kant-Darwin model that I show to be at the basis of not just Enlightenment philosophy—that is, at the basis of the *content* of philosophy—but also at the basis of the discipline’s organization, makes a strong case for scrupulously delimiting the concept and practice of the term “racism” and related terms. I argue below that the term “racism” must be restricted to the experiences of African and Africa American peoples, to Indigenous peoples, and to Romani/Gypsy peoples. We must search for an appropriate term to refer to discrimination (and other forms of dehumanizing treatment) based on religion, culture, ethnicity, language, and so on.

### **Litmus Tests for Racism**

Earlier, I listed some core elements of the formal Kant-Darwin model. Of these, the following elements are, in my view, necessary conditions for an act against a person or persons of another color to be correctly recognized and labeled as “racism” or “racist.”

- Does the person (or persons) committing the act regard his target person (persons) of another color as innately defective in reason, moral capacity and capacity for culture (art and science)?
- Does a race exist that is lower than this individual’s race so that he can look upon it with a superiority complex?
- Would he build a human zoo displaying members of the target race as a public service educational program to learn about this race? Would he be willing to pluck a girl child and tie her hands to a log and display her as a specimen of a lower race?
- Would he recruit a person of another race to join his traveling circus and perform acts like the other animals in the circus, dancing and shouting as the circus master signals?
- Would he be willing to marry a woman from this target race and bring her into his society and expect her to be treated as an equal to other women in her husband’s society? Note that I am not referring to private, out-of-sight and out-of-society sexual liaisons between the man and a woman from the target race. Thomas Jefferson had a long-standing affair with Sally Hemming, but he kept her out of white society.
- Is the police force of his race itching to shoot to kill young men from this target race?

### **Cultural or Ideological<sup>82</sup> Racism**

Well-meaning public policy and public philosophy academics, faith communities and institutions have promoted the notion of “cultural racism” in their sincere search for solutions

---

<sup>82</sup> A recent example of the notion of racism as ideological is the article by University of Cambridge scholar Priyamvada Gopal, “We can’t talk about racism without understanding whiteness,” *The Guardian*, July 4, 2020. I regard ideology as a subset of culture. [<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/jul/04/talk-about-racism-whiteness-racial-hierarchy>]



to the multifaceted discriminations that colored immigrants have faced in Eurogenic countries.

Non-white immigrant communities are tempted by the prospects of legislation and other state supported anti-discrimination laws and programs to argue that they too are victims of racism, by which they mean “cultural racism.” I support their efforts to tackle discrimination, bigotry, prejudice and other forms of unequal treatment as citizens. But they are unwittingly desecrating the memories of the millions who were victimized in the most unspeakable ways by Kant-Darwin racism: Jews, Romani/Gypsies, Native Americans, Africans, the Indigenous peoples of Canada, Central and South America, Australia, New Zealand, etc. The photos in this essay were thoughtfully selected by me not just to illustrate how Kant-Darwin racism works in practice, but also to ensure that these images become lodged indelibly in the mind of the reader and to constantly remind him or her of the *sui generis* nature of white European racism.

Theorists of “cultural racism” should settle on another term for it. They should not dishonor and desecrate the sufferings, dehumanization, humiliations and other indignities to which the victims of white European Kant-Darwin racism were subjected. If they are in doubt about the validity of my objections, I invite them to look (again) at the photos I have presented in this essay.

### **Islamophobia is Not Racism**

Muslims and their non-Muslim supporters in several Eurogenic countries, especially in Britain and Canada, have been campaigning to have the word “Islamophobia” declared as racism. France and Quebec have passed several legislations, and are seeking to add more, that discriminate against Muslims, especially Muslim women and girls, on the grounds that their religious practices violate the principle of *laïcité*, the French conception of secularism.

Muslims view their campaign to have Islamophobia declared racist as an act of self-defense. They are a minority in Eurogenic countries, and they seek the help of the state to come to their defense against the more powerful forces of Islamophobia. They want the Islamophobes to be declared racists and to be subject to the anti-racism laws of the state.

There is no question that Muslims are targets of a variety of abuses based on their faith. (I have had my share of such abuses, including being physically attacked.) Unfortunately for them, Islam is not a “race” as this term is used in the Kantian conception of the colored races. *And Muslims know that Islam is not a race!* By invoking the new definition of racism as discrimination based on culture (including religion), Muslims are, unwittingly, equating the discrimination they face in Britain and elsewhere in Europe with the monstrosities faced by

black people, the Indigenous peoples and, as the photo of that little Polynesian girl tied to the log shows, Polynesians and other colored peoples of the world.

They are also, unwittingly and maybe unthinkingly, equating their mistreatment at the hands of the Home Office in Britain with the genocide of the Indigenous peoples in the US, the dispossession of Indigenous lands in Canada, the inhuman treatment of the Indigenous peoples in Australia, the genocide and inhuman treatment of the Romani in Europe, and so on. They are equating their mistreatment in Europe (ban on the hijab, etc.) with the routine killings of young black men by American police officers who shoot them down with impunity because Kant-Darwin racism permeates the entire criminal justice system and law enforcement in the US. They need to stop seeking state recognition for Islamophobia as racism. To insist on it is a sacrilege against the monstrous injustices faced by African and Indigenous peoples at the hands of white Europeans who were acting in conformity with the Kant-Darwin model of the races.

### **Zionism is Not Racism**

The case of Zionism is opposite to that of Islamophobia. In the latter case, Muslims wish to have their abusers declared racists for targeting them because of their religion. In the case of Zionism, those who wish to have Zionism declared racist base their accusation on Israel's treatment of the Palestinians, including the dispossession of Palestinian territory.

Israel's treatment of the Palestinians is an aspect of the larger conflict between the two peoples for possession of the same territory. The Palestine-Israel conflict is a *political* conflict. It is neither a religious conflict nor an inter-racial conflict. Indeed, it is difficult to see where race enters into this conflict. Although it is not a religious conflict, it has not prevented some on both sides of the dispute from invoking their respective scriptures to justify their views, policies and actions. Arabs and other supporters of the Palestinians need to stop their campaign to have Zionism labeled a racist movement and Zionism itself a form of racism. To do so risks the same desecration of the memories of monstrous injustices that I described above in my discussion of Islamophobia as racism.

## PART TWO

### The Philosophy Community's Problem With Racism

## VI

### Kantian Studies Today

The philosophy establishment in Eurogenic countries, especially in Anglo-American universities, was blindsided in 1997 by the publication of a groundbreaking article by a relatively unknown brilliant young Nigerian philosopher, Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze. The article, “The Color of Reason: The Idea of ‘Race’ in Kant’s Anthropology,” was the first comprehensive and analytically compelling study of Immanuel Kant’s theory of race or “raciology,” as Eze terms it.<sup>83</sup>

#### Kantian Apologetics

Kantian scholars, in particular, were completely unprepared for this powerful and seemingly irrefutable exposé by a philosopher out of “the *dark* continent,” the last place from where they would have expected such a major reconceptualization of Kant. There was a “How dare you!” quality to this shock which is reflected in the still ongoing effort to rebut his analysis of Kant’s theory of race or raciology. In short, we are witnessing the phenomenon of Kantian apologetics.

For Eze did not just scan Kant’s writings, collect them together and present them to the philosophy community as a “this is what Kant said about race” chrestomathy. Eze had accomplished something entirely new in the study of Kant’s philosophy: he had “demoted” the *Critiques* trilogy—of which the daunting *Critique of Pure Reason* remains to this day the “king” among philosophical texts reaching back to Aristotle—by placing it within Kant’s anthropological thought and writings. He had committed a “blasphemy” within the philosophy community.

Immanuel Kant’s stature today among philosophers has become something like that of a religious or spiritual figure whose writings have acquired scriptural authority for his followers. Just as there are Hindus who claim that the ancient Vedas have solutions to today’s scientific problems, or Muslims who make similar claims about the Qur’an—for example, stem-cells in the Vedas and embryology in the Qur’an—so Kantians today have devolved into evangelist-philosophers who turn to Kant’s “scripture” for guidance on contemporary problems—climate change, women’s rights, environment, animal rights, and so on.

---

<sup>83</sup> *Postcolonial African Philosophy*, edited by Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze, 1997, pp. 103-140.

And just as theologians of a religion rally to defend or apologize for the master or the scripture, so today's Kantian philosophers have reacted to Eze's foundational reconceptualization by rallying to Kant's defense and making as much mileage out of some passages as they can to defend what is indefensible.

### Pauline Kleingeld

One particularly well-received example of "Kantian apologetics" is the article by Pauline Kleingeld, "Kant's Second Thoughts on Race."<sup>84</sup> Kleingeld is responding not just to Emmanuel Eze but to another black philosopher, the Jamaican Charles W. Mills.<sup>85</sup> In a guardedly patronizing tone toward these two black philosophers, she first suggests to them that they have not understood some of Kant's concepts—Charles Mills, for example, misunderstanding Kant's universalism, and Emmanuel Eze unfairly focused on Kant's earlier views and not on his later views about race—and then, secondly, she examines Kant's later writings and finds that Kant had had second thoughts about race, thoughts that should clear him of the charge of racism.

Kleingeld points out that in his later writings, close to his death, Kant had become very critical of slavery and the brutal treatment of slaves and the lower races. She scrupulously cites the relevant passages where Kant indeed expresses those views. To her, and I suppose to her fellow white philosophers, these death-bed conversion thoughts that Kant published constitute sufficient arguments against the accusations of Eze and Mills.

Unfortunately, Kleingeld's apology for Kant is a matter of apples and oranges. Slavery and brutality toward the African or the Native American is a moral failure on the part of the perpetrator, a failure to heed the Practical Reason that he, the superior white European, ought to have heeded. Kant's moral strictures are aimed at his fellow Europeans who had no reason to act so *wantonly*. Nothing he said on this topic suggests that Kant had come to consider the lower colored races to be equally endowed with Reason and Practical Reason, and that he had come to abandon his theory about skin color and the imperfect human nature they had been ascribed by him in his earlier thinking. Nor is there any evidence in these "second thoughts" that he now acknowledged the black race to be transcendently endowed with will and the capacity for intellectual and moral self-direction.

It is perfectly consistent for a person to condemn abusive or humiliating treatment of another human being or other animals—or trees and other flora—without having to acknowledge that the victim shares the same rational and moral capacities as himself. The entire animal rights

---

<sup>84</sup> *The Philosophical Quarterly*, Volume 57, Number 229, October, 2007, pp. 573-592.

<sup>85</sup> Charles Mills is professor of philosophy at the Graduate Center, City University of New York (CUNY).

movement today is aimed at the humane treatment of animals. We are rightly outraged at a man who brutalizes his dog. That does not mean that we now regard the dog as having human rational, moral, linguistic and civilizational capacity. Kant's moral outrage was directed toward his fellow Europeans. The deficiencies that Kant observed in the lower races remained deficiencies for him till the end of his life. Kleingeld is attempting to defend the indefensible.

### Omission of Kant's Raciology from Online Encyclopedias of Philosophy

There is another form of Kantian apologetics: intentional silence or omission. That is what the two prominent online encyclopedias of philosophy have done with Kant's views on race. The *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* is by far the most prestigious on account of its institutional sponsorship (Stanford University) and contributors from the international philosophy community. The "manager" of the entries on Kant is an editor of the philosophy journal *Review of Metaphysics* (a journal that I used to read regularly). He confirmed to me that there was nothing on Kant's raciology in the entries on Kant.

The second online encyclopedia is the *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. It is another serious venture by professional philosophers with doctorates in philosophy many of whom teach philosophy at universities. The only mention of race in the entries on Kant occurs in the last paragraph of Section 8 of the main entry on Kant. This section, "Pragmatic Anthropology," provides an overview of Kant's book, *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View*. The writer then adds the following remark:

The other aspect of the *Anthropology* (and the student transcripts of his actual lectures) that makes it so interesting is that the wealth and range of examples and discussions give a much fuller picture of Kant the person than we can get from his more technical writings. The many examples present a picture of a man with wide-ranging opinions on all aspects of the human experience. There are discussions of dreams, humor, boredom, personality-types, facial expressions, pride and greed, gender and *race issues*, and more. [My italics]

The writer of this paragraph is impressed with Kant's "wide-ranging opinions on all aspects of the human experience." To him, Kant was as much interested in race as he was in humor and boredom, among other things listed in the quote above. In this way the *Encyclopedia* trivializes the monumental dehumanization of the colored races that Kant puts forth as his metaphysically grounded theory of skin color.

The main entry on Kant also includes a summary of *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and the Sublime*. In this book Kant devotes a separate chapter to develop his race theory based on skin color. But the summary in the *Internet Encyclopedia* article makes no mention of it. The unsuspecting reader would not learn that Kant was the master theorist of European racism

that viewed the skin color of different races as having transcendental sanction and significance.

A third online article on Kant is at Wikipedia. Unlike the Stanford and Internet encyclopedias of philosophy, Wikipedia is the first “go to” online entry point into a subject for many people. The entry on Kant is 40 pages long (if saved as PDF). There is complete silence on his theory of race.

A fourth example of silence is the dictionary of Kantian terms compiled by Howard Caygill, *A Kant Dictionary* (1994). Emmanuel Eze observes that “it contains absolutely no entry headed ‘race.’”<sup>86</sup>

### Pitting Kant against Himself

In what must be one of the most bizarre attempts by a Kantian philosopher to square the circle that Kant’s raciology presents, Lucy Allais has proposed to pit Kant against his own raciology. Confessing that “Kant cannot be made consistent on race,” she recommends that we should instead use “Kant’s own moral philosophy and moral psychology...for thinking about his racism.”<sup>87</sup>

Allais is honest enough to acknowledge that Kant’s racism cannot be defended (“cannot be made consistent on race”). Instead of seeking fruitlessly to defend the indefensible, she is suggesting that Kantians should study Kant’s raciology through the lens of his moral philosophy. Having just admitted that Kant cannot be defended, what would be the point of examining his raciology through the lens of his moral philosophy? Here Allais is being coy: what she is suggesting, in fact, is that by applying his universalist moral philosophy to his own morally problematic raciology, Kantians will be able to assuage their intellectual and moral restlessness and defensiveness over Kant’s raciology when they realize that his universalist moral philosophy represents the “real” Kant—Kant’s raciology can then be safely declared an aberration.

All these different stratagems by Kantian apologists expediently ignore one telling fact about Kant’s writings on race: he never *repudiated* them,<sup>88</sup> as Wittgenstein did with respect to his

---

<sup>86</sup> Emmanuel Eze, (ed.), *Race and the Enlightenment: A Reader*, 1997, p. 3.

<sup>87</sup> “Kant’s Racism,” *Philosophical Papers*, Volume 45, 2016, Issue 1-2, pp. 1-36. Another Kantian philosopher who is engaged in a similar exercise is Jennifer Mensch, “Caught Between Character and Race: ‘Temperament’ in Kant’s Lectures on Anthropology,” *Australian Feminist Law Journal*, Volume 43, 2017, Issue 1, pp. 125-144.

<sup>88</sup> Even the judicious political philosopher James Tully acknowledges that Kant did not abandon his earlier views about race. Referring to Kant’s *Observations on the Feeling of the Sublime and Beautiful*, published in 1764, Tully makes the following remark: “Kant wrote this in 1764, twenty years before the *Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Intent*. However, there is nothing in the latter text (or in *Perpetual Peace*) that repudiates or contradicts his earlier view on national characteristics and, as we have seen, the whole tenor of the text is complementary to it...He also continued to write on the racial superiority of Europeans in 1775 (*On the Different Races of Men*) and

*Tractatus*.<sup>89</sup> The *Tractatus* was Wittgenstein's dissertation written under Bertrand Russell, who had effusively announced to the world that Wittgenstein had solved intractable philosophical problems whose solutions had eluded philosophers ever since Aristotle's days more than two thousand years ago. But Wittgenstein turned against his own philosophy and repudiated it as wrong. Russell was so shocked at this complete "betrayal" of philosophy by Wittgenstein that he accused his former student of having become a mystic.

If, as Kant's apologists insist, Kant had really changed his mind about race, a subject on which he lectured till the end and which was so central to his overall philosophy—intellectual, moral and civilizational capacity; cosmopolitanism, perpetual peace, a universal citizen commonwealth under a federation of peer-level republican states, and so on—he would have felt compelled to rework all these other components of his philosophical system. But there is no trace of this reworking, as we see with Wittgenstein. The reason we do not see it is simple: he did not repudiate his theory of race and skin color.

#### Albert Schweitzer: Benevolent Racist

If there is an example that refutes Kleingeld's argument that kindness to blacks and reds means that Kant was no longer a racist, it is the life of Albert Schweitzer. He was the gold standard of the altruistic colonial missionary dedicating his life to African people deep in the bushes. He was the Florence Nightingale of colonialism, tending to the sick and poor black people when he could have led a very aristocratic and respected life back in Europe. Instead, he chose to live in their midst. He was compassionate toward his patients, whom he treated well and who accorded him demi-god status.

But Schweitzer, like Kant and Hegel before him, remained convinced till the end that black people were not capable of civilization. He was, as the eminent Kenyan scholar Ali Mazrui called him, a "benevolent racist."

I have given my life to try to alleviate the sufferings of Africa. There is something that all white men who have lived here like I must learn and know: that these individuals are a *sub-race*. They have neither the intellectual, mental, or emotional abilities to equate or to share equally with white men in any function of our civilization. I have given my life to try to bring them the advantages which our

---

1798 (*Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View*).” Tully then recommends Emmanuel Eze for an “introduction to Kant's views on race and national characteristics” by referring the reader to Eze's edited volume, *Race and the Enlightenment*. James Tully, “The Kantian Idea of Europe: Critical and Cosmopolitan Perspectives.” Originally published in *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union*, edited by Anthony Pagden, 2002. Republished in James Tully, *Public Philosophy in a New Key*, Volume II, pp.15-42, 2008.

<sup>89</sup> *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, Ludwig Wittgenstein, 1921. Translated into English but with the original Latin title by C. K. Ogden, 1922.



civilization must offer, but I have become well aware that *we must retain this status: we the superior and they the inferior*. [*African Notebook*, 1939] [My italics]

Schweitzer's Kantian raciology is unmistakable, including the mission Europeans have to remain permanent mentors of Africans, even, as I argue below, in the End Times when perpetual peace has been established on Earth.

### **Why are Kantians Defending the Indefensible?**

Pauline Kleingeld is not an exception to the Kantian philosophers' effort to clear their mentor of the charge of racism. Kant's racism was not an aberration among the numerous leading lights of European thought, culture and science. As Emmanuel Eze has shown in his compilation of the views about race held by Enlightenment thinkers, Kant was not saying anything new when he said that colored races are inferior to the white European race. Rather, it is his very perseverant and sophisticated formalization of the prevalent racism that "deservedly" entitles him to be regarded as the architect who placed the popular conceptions of race among Europeans on a solid philosophical—in particular, metaphysical—foundation.

Kant's raciology is indefensible. Why then are Kantians rallying to his defense, as Pauline Kleingeld and Sally Allais do? Kleingeld's attempt to exonerate Kant is embarrassing because she had to know that Kant's "second thoughts" did not touch the foundational principles that explained and justified his theory of color as manifestation of transcendental principles. Nor did Kant rethink and rewrite his thoughts regarding Europe's mentoring "Mandate from Heaven" task of steering colored races toward European levels of Enlightenment.

One answer to the question I posed above—there may be other answers, but I do not see them—is that Kantian apologists have not honestly confronted their personal relationship to Kant's raciology—that is, they have not frankly looked within themselves to find out if Kant's raciology, in whatever attenuated form, is lodged there. Their rebuttal of Eze and Charles Mills, among others, is a "How dare you!" suppressed anger that suggests to me that they do not wish to examine themselves.

The quasi-alarmist focus of the Kantians on clearing Kant of the charge of racism is misplaced. He is a "sacred cow" for them, a morally untainted saintly figure whose moral purity they cannot stand being questioned. By scrambling to clear Kant's name, Kantians are deflecting attention from the prevalence of racism in wider Eurogenic society to which Kant gave an accurate philosophical formulation. Kantians should instead credit Kant with exposing, through his formal theory, the metaphysical foundations of European racism that existed and exists today in individual Eurogenic cognitive systems. In the language of modern computer science, Kant served as a "data model" expert in accurately modeling the racism of his Eurogenic fellows (including the American philosophical community and police departments).

## Kantian Jihadism and Muslim Jihadism: Parallels

I now wish to draw a parallel with another civilization whose ideologues also entertained pretensions to universalism, cosmopolitanism, enlightenment, perpetual peace, and imperialism as the way to achieve these goals. It shared these visions with Kant but, obviously, it conceptualized them and formulated them from very different premises. I am referring to the Muslim doctrine of Jihad.

The term *jihād* acquired its aggressive military meaning much later after the Prophet Muhammad's death in 632 AD, in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century. In the Qur'an, the term *jihād* is not used for physical violence but is used for the *individual* believer's perseverance in his newfound faith's beliefs and ethical demands.<sup>90</sup> It is a cognitive, not an action term. The Qur'an's word for physical violence is *qitāl* (fighting involving killing, as was the case with traditional Arab tribal warfare). The lightning conquests of the Arabs netted them large territory, booty and non-Arab peoples with rich ancestral cultures and religions. The caliphs needed guidance and "rules of engagement" for dealing with these peoples. The jurists (*fuqahā'*, plural of *faqih*) stepped forward and developed the doctrine of Jihad as an aggressive military venture and campaign.

The key elements of Jihad as an offensive military doctrine are few, but they bear instructive—and sobering—comparison with Kant's ideas. I list a few below.

- **“Mandate from Heaven”**

**Muslim Jihadism:**<sup>91</sup> Islam is the chosen religion of God. It is destined to become the religion of the world. Muslims have a “mandate” from Allah to spread this faith to non-Muslims.

**Kantian Jihadism:** European civilization is the chosen “religion” of Nature. It is destined to become the reigning philosophy of the world because in Nature's design for End Times perpetual peace, Europeans have to mentor non-Europeans and lead them toward the End Times that is Nature's plan for humanity.

---

<sup>90</sup> The central component in the concept of *jihād* is “perseverance” or “persistence.” Thus, in verses 29:8 and 31:15 the Qur'an speaks of a Muslim's parents, who have not become Muslim, who “persist in pressuring” (*jāhadā*) their son to commit *shirk* (by adopting idol worship and thereby making Allah a partner of the Meccan idols).

<sup>91</sup> *Muslim Jihadism*, historically, is different from *Qur'anic Jihadism*. The former is a later militarization of the core idea of exerting oneself to live up to the ethical expectations of the faith. The Caliphal and juristic doctrine of Muslim Jihadism is a conquest-motivated doctrine to buttress the Caliph's military ambitions and adventures. The Qur'anic conception of jihad is focused on demanding from the Muslim that he or she exert themselves assiduously in helping the poor, hungry, orphans, sick, elderly, and others who are in need of help. Muslim Jihadism in its conquest-driven form is diametrically opposed to Qur'anic Jihadism.

- **Division of the World into Two Camps**

**Muslim Jihadism:** The world is divided into two camps: *dār al-islām* (domain where Islam—peace—prevails) and *dār al-ḥarb* (domain of war). The latter was also conceived as the “hostile world” lying outside the world of peace (*islām*). In other words, the division of the world into two camps was made on the basis of religion, between Muslims and non-Muslims.

**Kantian Jihadism:** The world is divided into two camps: the European white race and the non-European colored races. The white race is the perfect race with complete human nature. The colored races are the imperfect races with incomplete human nature. Whereas in Muslim Jihadism *religion* is the basis of division into two camps, in Kant *skin color* is the basis for the division. The contemporary articulation of this doctrine is “The West and the Rest” (title of the book by British philosopher Roger Scruton).

- **Mission to the Other Camp: Conquest and Evangelism**

**Muslim Jihadism:** Muslims have an obligation to convert non-believers to Islam. Military conquests (*jihād*) open the door for missionaries to pour in and carry out mission work (*da‘wah*). Muslims will mentor the world toward Islam, the perfect religion chosen by God himself. Muslim evangelists today are everywhere in the world working hard to bring about the happy Islamic End Times.

**Kantian Jihadism:** Europeans have an obligation to convert colored races to European civilization and prepare them for “citizenship” in the End Times world civilization. Kant tacitly gave his nod to European conquests, for they opened up the lower races to the mentorship of Europe, the perfect human race. European mentorship of the lower races is a transcendently ordained task set for them. The Kantian counterparts of Muslim missionaries are Kantian philosophers in Eurogenic philosophy departments and other academic disciplines like political science, law, international relations, “world order” studies, and so on.

- **Treatment of People in the Other Camp**

**Muslim Jihadism:** The jurists defined rules for the treatment of the subjugated peoples: humane treatment; homes to be left alone; no plunder; restricted types of booty; religious freedom; women, children, aged and infirm to be treated kindly; rules governing slaves; and so on.

**Kantian Jihadism:** Kant lived before the great European scramble for Africa in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, but he was knowledgeable about the treatment of slaves and Indigenous peoples in Spanish and English America. He had been silent about the brutal treatment of slaves

and Indigenous in the Americas, a silence he finally broke toward the end of his life, presumably outraged at the cruel ways in which these people were treated. It is not easy to speculate how Kant would have responded to the human zoos, especially those displaying small children. My guess is that he would have been outraged by them and would not have condoned them. Kant was not devoid of conscience even though he denied it to the colored peoples.

- **Universalism**

**Muslim Jihadism:** Islam is a universal religion and is destined to become the religion of the whole world.

**Kantian Jihadism:** European civilization is a perfect civilization that is destined to become the civilization of the whole world.

- **Governance**

**Muslim Jihadism:** An Islamic state will rule the world, most of which will have converted to Islam. This Islamic state will implement the Sharia developed by the ulama of Islam. In this happy end state, there will no *dār al-ḥarb*, only *dār al-islām*. There will be perpetual peace thereafter.

**Kantian Jihadism:** A federation of European states will have been formed in Europe, and this federation will lead and lift the lower races toward European levels of civilization. There will be perpetual peace thereafter.

- **Cosmopolitanism**

**Muslim Jihadism:** There are two types of Muslim cosmopolitanism. The first is that of the faith. As Islam converts the non-Muslim world, its presence around the world increases. Muslims increasingly become residents of these new areas, and in this way Islam leads “universal history” toward complete residence or habitation over the globe. It is a cosmopolitan religion because it lives everywhere in the “cosmos,” the world.

The second type is that the Muslim views the world as his home where he can live anywhere in it. The historical migrations of Arabs to distant lands in China, Africa, and Indonesia testify to this type of cosmopolitanism of the individual. The Sharia will be the public law regulating relations between an individual who wishes to enter an occupied territory and the owners of that territory. It will be Islam’s version of “hospitality.”

**Kantian Jihadism:** There are two types of cosmopolitanism. The first is that of European civilization, which will spread across the globe as Europeans tutor the lower races in higher forms of civilization. As other races become civilized, thanks to the mentorship of

the Europeans, European civilization will become cosmopolitan because it will be resident around the world.

The second type of Kantian cosmopolitanism relates, as it does in the case of Muslim Jihadism, to the individual. The European views the world as his home. He is a denizen of the world—Kant’s word is *weltbürger*, literally “denizen or resident of the world,” incorrectly translated as “citizen of the world”—by virtue of his European origin and civilization. He can and has the right to live anywhere in the world. The End Times public law will regulate relations between an individual who wants to enter a territory and the owners of that territory.

- **The Fate of Non-European Cultures**

**Muslim Jihadism:** The spread of Islam among the world’s races and cultures will not be at the expense of these cultures and languages. Only the faith will have changed, and this faith will be expressed in the cultural forms of the indigenous cultures. The universality and cosmopolitanism of Islam will be the universality and cosmopolitanism of the *faith*, not of any specific *culture* or *civilization*. The “end state” will be characterized by cultural and linguistic diversity, as is the case with today’s Muslim world.

**Kantian Jihadism:** Because it is only the European race that has been transcendently endowed with Reason (including its two main modes, Understanding and Practical Reason), the civilizational upliftment of the lower races will require them to set aside the beliefs and norms of their ancestral cultures and adopt those that are stipulated by (European) Reason. European Practical Reason will define the ethics for the lower races, who must abandon their traditional values and norms and adopt those of the Europeans. Thus, as European civilization becomes more and more universal, the lower races lose their traditional culture and language and “convert” to European civilization. Thus Kantian Jihadism will lead to the elimination of all non-European cultures and languages. The “end state” will be monocultural.

- **End of History**

**Muslim Jihadism:** Islam is the final religion for humankind. History going forward will become increasingly Islamic. Religious, moral and spiritual development of humanity will have peaked. Muhammad is the “Seal of Prophethood”; he is the “Perfect Man” (*al-insān al-kāmil*) after whom no other more perfect human being can come. There will be no other prophet or new religion after him. The seal (*khatm*) is the signal to humanity that Islam has been chosen by God to become fully global and to become cosmopolitan by inhabiting every nook and corner of the world. The emergence of Islam in history marks the “end of

history” in the manner Fukuyama described in his *The End of History*: history going forward will be just “more of the same,” just more Islam as it spreads across the globe.

**Kantian Jihadism:** European civilization is the “seal of civilizations” by virtue of its all-round perfection. As with Islam, it is already universal and cosmopolitan in itself, and it becomes universal and cosmopolitan in actuality when it spreads through the lower races. The attainment of perfection by Europeans marks the “end of history” in the sense Fukuyama meant: history going forward will be just “more of the same,” just more European civilization as it spreads through the lower races.

#### ▪ **Perpetual Peace**

**Muslim Jihadism:** Whether through direct military conquest or missionary work (*da‘wah*), the establishment of an Islamic state over the whole world will usher in an era of perpetual peace. The Islamic state will apply the Sharia developed by the jurists, and the laws of the Sharia, based on and building upon the Qur’an’s enlightened teachings, will complement the believer’s personal faith and its practice. This synergy between personal Islamic faith and the laws of the Sharia implemented by the world Islamic state will ensure that perpetual peace is also a perpetual state of individual enlightenment.

**Kantian Jihadism:** The tutelage of the benighted lower races of the world under European mentorship, through imperial conquest or missionary work, will eventually bring the colored races into the civilizational ambit of Europe. The entire world will be ruled by the European states working in concert as a federal unity. There will be perpetual peace henceforth, and the entire world will be living in a state of European Enlightenment. Just as with Muslim Jihadism, there will be synergy between the enlightened laws of the European world state and the enlightenment of the individuals. The enlightenment of the European citizens will be self-generated under the guidance of their internal Reason, Practical Reason and the Understanding. The enlightenment of the colored races, however, will be contingent, not self-generated, because they were not endowed with Reason and so cannot attain enlightenment on their own. That is why they have to come under the mentorship of the white European races, who will lead them to higher and higher levels of enlightenment although the lower races will never reach perfect enlightenment. Perpetual peace for them will be perpetual subjection to the master governing race, the Europeans.

### **The Hindu Theory of Human Inequality: The Caste System**

There is a second tradition of human inequality besides that of the European Kant-Darwin theory: the Hindu caste (*varna*) system. The Indians of East, Central and South Africa brought this caste theory of “born unequal” with them to Africa. Already back in pre-Partition India, the British had introduced to their Indian subjects the Kantian theory that skin-color was the

outward, physical manifestation of innate differences in human nature. The Indians who settled in Africa fused the two theories of “born unequal” and were comfortable occupying the middle tier in the three-tier system of segregation of the races in the colonial social system set up by the British.

The caste system is the hierarchically ordered social embodiment of a theory of *inequality-at-birth*. Humans are born unequal, and their place, status, privileges and duties in society must be commensurate with this “birthright” inequality. This principle of inequality imbues the individual with an inegalitarian outlook toward fellow humans—one is either above others or below them, but not equal to them. Even members within a given caste constantly jostle to establish a hierarchical, inequality-based relationship among themselves.<sup>92</sup>

The principle of inequality-at-birth is the foundational principle of the theory as well as the practice of the caste system. An elaborate and sophisticated theory brings together beliefs in *karma*, *avatār* and *moksha* and cements them together into a coherent doctrine with the beliefs about purity (*punya*) and pollution (*pāp*). The entire religious system—doctrine and practice—is the *dharma* (rules of conduct). Each caste has its own caste-specific *dharma*.

Just as the European colonial masters assigned the indigenous black population to the lowest level of their hierarchical system, so the Indians in Africa, viewing the black people through the conceptual lens of their caste system, assigned them to the bottom level as their practical guide for social relations with them. The blacks, like the *out-caste* (Untouchables) communities back in India, were an “out-caste” people for the Indians. The *dharma* rules for interacting with the Indian out-castes could now be extended to their interactions with the “out-caste” black Untouchables.

The ordering and ranking of the castes are governed by the principle of purity and pollution. The top caste, the Brahmins, are the purest caste, whereas the Sudras, at the bottom of the hierarchy but still within the caste system (unlike the Untouchables who lie outside the system) are the least pure and the most polluted.

There are some fundamental differences between the Hindu concept of “born unequal” and the European Kantian concept of “born unequal.” The main ones are noted briefly below.

### Race and Color: The Caste System

For Kant, human inequality is the inequality of the human nature of the races. In the caste system, human inequality is not race-based since it is intra-race (occurring within one race, the

---

<sup>92</sup> The most incisive and, as yet, unsurpassed study of the principle of inequality-at-birth and its social expression in the caste system is that of Louis Dumont, *Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and its Implications*, 1966. Dumont subsequently published a second edition of the book (1980) in which he responded to the discussions within the academic community prompted by his provocative and controversial thesis.

Indian race), nor is this inequality an inequality of the human nature or human-ness of the castes. In other words, unlike Kant's raciology, caste doctrine of "unequal at birth" is not grounded in transcendental principles that fix the inequality in perpetuity. An individual can move up and down the caste "ladder" depending on his actions during his life on Earth. If he has lived in egregious violation of the precepts of his *dharma*—that is, the *dharma* associated with his caste—then he will be reborn (*avatār*) in a lower caste in his next birth in the world.

Indeed, Hindu doctrine allows for liberation (*moksha*) from the principle of inequality if the individual has fulfilled the requirements and rules of conduct of his *dharma*. Kant, on the other hand, cannot allow the lower races any hope of liberation from their imperfections. The reason is that these imperfections are endowed by metaphysical principles that even the perfect race, the European master race whose human nature or human-ness is complete, cannot change. This fixity of inequality among the lower races is reflected in the fixity of the skin color of the lower races: it remains with the race even when the End Times perpetual peace has been attained.

### Skin Color and Aryanism

Earlier, when discussing Kant's doctrine of skin color, I speculated briefly on the possible Aryan origins of the idea that skin color reveals innate differences in human nature. Here I will develop this speculation a little further, but it still remains speculation.

There are two traditions regarding color among Indians. The first regards color as invariant with caste. There are charcoal-black Brahmins at the top with lighter colored castes below them. In southern states of India, as well as in Sri Lanka, where everyone is as black as African blacks, a black-skinned Brahmin is the norm rather the exception he is in states farther north in India, in Kashmir, for example.

This "color blindness" of the caste system in certain parts of India may have religious foundations. Krishna is universally (among Indians) depicted in art, architecture—and now in films—in light blue color. This blue color is not found in actual human society, but it is a dark color in relation to white color. Remarkably, there is very little serious scholarly study of the question why Krishna is a dark-skinned figure. Of one thing we may be sure: Krishna is not white-skinned. This would suggest that he was not an Aryan because the Aryans are depicted as white-skinned people in the mythologies of all societies where the primordial Proto-Indo-Europeans (PIE, also called Proto-Indo-Aryans) spread (as far as Norway, Germany, Greece, etc.).

The Aryans who arrived in India and eventually established their Vedic religion as the hegemonic religion throughout the land, did not develop a Kant-like metaphysical grounding for skin color as the outward manifestation of unequal human nature or human-ness. This



changed—so I speculate—with the arrival of the British in India. Already with the East India Company, before the formal adoption of India as the Empire by Queen Victoria in 1857, British philosophers were injecting into Indian minds the idea that the white-skinned European race was the top race in the world and had the noble task of leading the Indians to civilization.

One famous name that is associated with this idea—an idea whose Kantian origin cannot now be missed—is that of the political philosopher John Stuart Mill. Mill’s father, James Mill, as well as John himself, were long-serving bureaucrats in the East India Company, a private firm that had established de facto rule over the princely states of India. The two Mills were lifelong advocates and defenders of colonial rule as Europe’s mission to raise the civilizational level of backward peoples, including India. Writing in his widely acclaimed *Considerations on Representative Government* (1861), John Stuart Mill was unequivocal in his opposition to the idea of representative government for India.

Indian subjects of white European rulers internalized the link between color and human nature and injected color into what had hitherto been a “color blind” caste system. The relatively lighter skinned Indians in the northern areas like Kashmir—the Nehrus were Kashmiris—had no trouble buying into the European idea that white-skinned people were more civilized than those below them in the southern states. It is noteworthy that today, in India, skin whitening is a multibillion-dollar industry supported by ever-increasing demands among the Westernizing, mostly younger, sections of Indian society.

The Indians brought this second tradition regarding the caste system to Africa. The British set up a three-tiered social hierarchy of the races that paralleled their respective skin-color: whites at the top, browns (Kant’s yellows) in the middle, and blacks at the bottom. This second model of the caste system was the more dominant among the Indians and led them to adopt the Kant-Darwin model in their ideas, attitudes and dealings with respect to the indigenous black populations. Yet, even though many Indians, especially the elites, became enamored of white skin, they did not adopt Kant’s metaphysical premises explaining and justifying the color scheme. Their Hinduism was ultimately strong enough to prevent them from adopting the Kant-Darwin conception of unequal human natures. This was true mostly of Hindus, even of those who settled in Africa.

### Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa

Gandhi was a hardcore traditional Hindu who believed strongly in the caste system. His long-running feud with Bhimrao Ambedkar, the leader of the Untouchables (Dalits) in India, reached its nadir during the London constitutional round table conferences in the early 1930s.

The Second Round Table Conference was held in London from September through December 1931. Aga Khan III (grandfather of the present Aga Khan IV) had pioneered the

federal principle for India.<sup>93</sup> At the heart of his federalism was the principle of separate communal electorates, in which the Untouchables would elect their own representatives to the federal legislature. The Aga Khan had argued that without communal representation the minorities would be permanently at the mercy of the numerical caste majority. He had been a strong advocate of the rights of the Untouchables to be represented by their own people in the federal legislature. Gandhi had opposed the Aga Khan's federal proposals. He was particularly opposed to extending communal representation to the Untouchables.

The British, however, accepted the Aga Khan's proposals and delivered what came to be known as the "Communal Award." The Untouchables were awarded their own representatives to the federal legislature. Gandhi was enraged and refused to accept the British decision. He started a *fast unto death* in September 1932 to force Ambedkar to abandon his demand for separate representation for the Untouchables (Ambedkar had supported the Aga Khan's proposals). Frightened at what might happen should Gandhi die, Ambedkar withdrew his demand.<sup>94</sup>

Gandhi brought his strong caste commitments to South Africa. He practiced law in that country for over 20 years. As I have remarked above, the Hindus who settled in Africa had to accommodate black Africans in their caste system that was premised on the principle of human inequality. Their solution was to place Africans in the same category into which they had placed the Untouchables. It is not difficult to predict how Gandhi reacted to the Africans: he could not treat them as equal human beings. Worse, Africans had to be relegated to the bottom of the caste hierarchy. He complained bitterly to the British about being included with Africans in the government's public policies and programs, and he demanded from the British that the Indians be kept separate from Africans.

Gandhi was sent to prison for his opposition to registration that the Black Act of 1906 required of Indians living in the Transvaal. The prison he and fellow Indians were sent to was the prison for black Africans (Kaffirs). Gandhi was incensed:

We could understand not being classified with the whites, but to be placed on the same level as the Natives seemed too much to put up with. It is indubitably right that the Indians should have separate cells. *Kaffirs are as a rule uncivilized—the convicts even more so. They are troublesome, very dirty and live almost like animals.* [My italics]

---

<sup>93</sup> The Aga Khan's federal idea and practical scheme were spelled out in his *India in Transition: A Study in Political Evolution*, 1918.

<sup>94</sup> Jawaharlal Nehru appointed Ambedkar to chair the constitutional drafting committee after Partition and after, we should note, Gandhi's assassination, which removed Gandhi from the scene and gave Nehru a free hand to craft a more inclusive constitution than Gandhi would have permitted. Indians today regard Ambedkar, the Untouchable, as the Father of the Indian Constitution.

Africans were upset at Gandhi's depiction of them as animals. Zulu newspapers, for example, condemned him and the Indians for volunteering to serve the "English savages in Natal."<sup>95</sup> I should point out that when Gandhi refers to Africans as "almost like animals," he is betraying his adoption of the Kant-Darwin conception of the races in preference to what we would expect from a hardcore Hindu who worships or reveres animals. Given the strength of his commitment to the caste system—his willingness to fast to death to preserve its integrity against the threat posed by Ambedkar—his preference for the white race's Kant-Darwin model suggests that the inferiority complex toward the British that Gandhi harbored has not been sufficiently explored by India's ideological historians and biographers.

### Africans in India: Subjected to Caste and Kant-Darwin Racism

Gandhi's inferiority toward his white colonial masters, and his racism toward black South Africans, was not an isolated phenomenon in the Indian community of South Africa. The Indians in Africa had fused together their native caste system and the British Kant-Darwin system. This fusion was facilitated, even *sought* by the Indians, because both systems were premised on, and gave different institutional embodiment, to the principle of human inequality they shared.

Under the protective, avuncular and condescending watchful eyes of their Dutch and British masters, the Indians, comfortably lodged in the middle of the Kant-Darwin racial hierarchy, practiced on the black South Africans the racism that the whites practiced on *them*.

Whereas Indian racism toward Africans occurred on African soil, back in India the racism faced today by African students in India shows that the fusion of the caste system and the British Kant-Darwin model has solidified in Indian society. Rarely a week goes by without an African male or female student at an Indian university being subjected to a variety of dehumanizing words or actions by *fellow Indian students* and the general public in their cities. Female African students are stripped in the public, male and female students are attacked by mobs, heckled, beaten, shunned, denied accommodation when they search for rental rooms or apartments, women students are raped, and so on. They are afraid to step out alone and end up huddled together in the safety of fellow Africans. More than 90% of the African students do not wish to continue their studies *within days* of arriving in India. But the prospect

---

<sup>95</sup> Anita Desai, "A Different Gandhi," reviews the book by Joseph Lelyveld, *Great Soul: Mahatma Gandhi and His Struggle with India*, 2011 in *The New York Review of Books*, April 28, 2011. Desai's quote of Gandhi is from Lelyveld's book.

of wasting all the money compels them to stay. Even so, nearly 80% return home without finishing their degrees.<sup>96</sup>

Many universities observe a social norm in the classrooms that brings the caste system into it: Brahmin students sit in the front row, all by themselves. The other castes occupy the rows that follow until the last row, which is allocated to the Untouchables. African students—as some of them who had studied in India told me during one of my visits to Tanzania—were forced to sit in their own row, behind even the Untouchables. During lab sessions or workshops the Indian students could be social, friendly and even helpful, but as soon as they stepped out into the public the same Indian students would shun the company of Africans. The Indian students feared social ostracism by their society and, a serious consideration, boycotts by families unwilling to let their sons or daughters marry a girl or boy who had been spotted on the streets walking with an African.

Indian inferiority toward the white Eurogenic peoples runs deep in contemporary Indian society. This can be seen in the multibillion-dollar skin-whitening industry and in the preference given to fair-skinned actors by Bollywood. The Indians have adopted from the British the Kant-Darwin model and inserted the caste system into its middle level, where the Indians were placed by the British. The neo-Nazi component of the ruling BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) party of Prime Minister Narendra Modi espouses the *Hindutva* ideology of Hindu supremacy, the Indian counterpart of American white supremacy.

The party's neo-Nazi credentials are not some fanciful inventions of its detractors: the far-right wing of the party, the RSS (Rashtriya Svayamasevaka Sangha), has openly avowed eugenics in its platform for a super breed of Hindus. The *Garbh Vigyan Sanskar* (GVS, Scientific Purification of the Womb), is a social engineering eugenics project to breed what they describe as “superior offspring” with higher IQ, higher mental, physical, emotional, spiritual and moral capacities and—this is the punch line—fairer *skin color* than those of their parents. The group is based in Modi's home state of Gujarat and, as of 2017,<sup>97</sup> was treating 400 young couples. The group claims that parents with low IQs would have children with higher IQs, and parents with dark skin color would have offspring with lighter skin color.

As I have described in my account of Kant's race theory, the term “race” in its German version was first used in animal husbandry for a breeding project to breed animals according to predefined attributes. Both Kant and the *Hindutva* ideologues mapped what was applicable

---

<sup>96</sup> “‘Study in India’ and India's African Dilemma: An ambitious initiative clashes with a regressive mindset,” Bikash Mohapatra, *The Diplomat*, June 10, 2019. [<https://thediplomat.com/2019/06/study-in-india-and-indias-african-dilemma/>]

<sup>97</sup> See the article “Hindu nationalist group promises ‘superior,’ fairer babies full of values and culture,” *The Hindustan Times*, May 9, 2017. [<https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/customised-babies-anyone-hindu-nationalist-group-promises-superior-fairer-offspring/story-58DXkYE2HGXgpXzM74JnjM.html>]

strictly to animals on to humans, but in doing so they reconceptualized the biological concept of “seed” to also include “transcendental” qualities like intelligence, moral capacity, and so on. We have seen above how this notion of a combo spiritual/material conception of the “seed” forges an uncanny and unsettling parallel between Kant-Darwin race theory and the authors of *The Bell Curve*. Kant-Darwin racism is alive and well in India, as is the caste system.

### Muslim Indians in Africa

Muslim Indians, on the other hand, who had adopted the Kant-Darwin model of races, also adopted the view that blacks were intellectually and morally—innately and permanently—incapable of producing civilization and of being self-willed and self-directed. To be sure, this belief was not uniformly spread among Muslim Indians. The Khoja Ithna Asharis, for example, have categorically rejected the Kant-Darwin theory of race and have strongly countered it with the Qur’anic conception of the equality of all human natures regardless of race, ethnicity and color. The Ithna Ashari Indians are the least afflicted with the inferiority complex toward white people than other Muslim Indians are, for example Sunnis and Khoja Ismailis.

The difference between the Hindu and Muslim adoption of the Kant-Darwin model is nicely captured in the vocabulary they use for black people. Muslims—with the exception of the Ithna Asharis—will unreflectingly describe the black man as *bandar* or *vāndro* (monkey), a derogatory term. It would be unthinkable for a Hindu to use these words because in Hinduism the monkey occupies a sacred lofty status as Hanuman, the trusted devotee, assistant, confidant and trouble-shooter of the Lord Ram, one of the *avatārs* of the cosmic deity Vishnu. Another derogatory term is *kāryo* (black man), an equivalent of the American derogatory term “nigger.” All Indians used this term for the African, including Hindus who had adopted the skin-color classification of the races from the British in India. As I have observed above, skin color as a metric for assigning an individual to his appropriate caste, and thereby making it an external expression of unequal rational, moral and cultural capacity, is alien to the pre-British “classical” caste system. The Aryan component in Vedic religion brought with it the principle of inequality based on skin color, but skin color does not appear to have become a metric for “calculating” an individual’s location on the purity-pollution scale and then assigning him his “calculated” caste. Aryanism, however, predisposed the Indians in India and the Indians in Africa to “welcome” the British classification of the races on the basis of skin color.

Hinduism boasts numerous “wild” beasts as divine beings—the cow, the elephant as the lord of knowledge and wisdom, the cobra as devotee and protector of the deities, etc. The elephant is widely revered as Lord Ganesha, the remover of obstacles, the patron of arts and the *deva* (deity) of intellect and wisdom. The *Panchatantra*, which came into the Muslim world and

became known as *Kalila wa Dimmna*, is the story of animals who complain to the king about human abuses toward them. The significant point here is that Indian society was concerned for the well-being of animals and regarded them as fellow inhabitants of a single ecosystem.

Even that cheerleader of empire, Rudyard Kipling, conveys the Indian fellowship with animals in his novel *The Jungle Book* (1894). Mowgli is a boy who is raised in the jungle by a pack of wolves and other animals. As he grows up, he is able to move back and forth between human society and jungle society. The animals consider Mowgli to be one of their own, but they have not dehumanized him: he is simultaneously human and animal, seamlessly a fusion of two identities. The novel has been interpreted in many different ways. Kipling may have used the animals as archetypes of different human personalities, but in crafting his setting and in depicting faithfully the fellowship that Indians have had for animals, Kipling has, perhaps unwittingly, corroborated the respect for animals among Indians, especially Hindus. That is why, even in faraway Africa, a Hindu was and is unlikely to say, as I have heard Indian Muslims say, that “You can take the African out of the bush but you can never take the bush out of the African,” an opinion that sits snugly with the Kant-Darwin model

### **Kantian End Times and the Hindu Caste System: Unsettling Parallels?**

Finally, as a book end to this long disquisition on the Kant-Darwin model of the races, I would like Kantian apologists and Kantian evangelist-philosophers to undertake a thought-experiment and work out some other implicit consequences of Kant’s formalism.

Imagine that, thanks to the Kantian prescriptions for perpetual peace being dutifully acted upon by both the white European race—Kant’s designated tutors—and by the lower races who, their hands tied from their permanent bondage to the World Bank, are readily “persuaded” to place themselves under the tutelage of the white European race. As a result of this mentor-protégé relationship, the lower races progressively improve their people’s overall quality of life and continue to score higher on the Human Development Index, a World Bank metric for quantifying development.

Eventually the Promised End State arrives. All the races have attained the maximum level of civilization set for them by the cosmos (present in their respective *Keime*). The white race deservedly pats itself on the back for a mission superbly and flawlessly accomplished. What now going forward?

As I remarked earlier, this happy end state marks the “end of history” partly in Fukuyama’s sense and also partly in the sense that as time passes and all races continue to live their lives under the “end state” dispensation, there is no further social evolution because there can be

no further progress in human civilization after the perfection attained under the mentorship of white European civilization.

Of course, the white federal government benevolently ruling over the lower races will make changes to the economy, urban planning, social life, health, education, and so on. A new epidemic may spring up. The government, being fully competent, will react to it in the most appropriate way imaginable, consonant with the all-round perfection of the white race.

A central question will have to be resolved by the ruling white government. What kind of *division of labor* should the government design and enact as law? For example, corporate buildings have to be cleaned, their washrooms cleaned and sanitized. All sorts of laborers will be required for unsavory industries like the meat packing industry, farms, truck drivers, security guards, garbage collectors, and so on. Who should perform these tasks?

As it turns out, the white European government will have a readymade template for solving the problem of division of labor—the caste system. The Hindu caste system is the theory and practice of the division of labor. Its theory is that of purity and pollution, and its practice is that of assigning the occupations of the economy based on where the individual is on the purity-pollution scale.

The white Europeans clearly would not want any of their members to clean the washrooms of corporate buildings. They will, sooner or later, look around and realize that the lower races can be assigned the occupations for the economy. These races have already been ranked by Kant with respect to their intellectual and moral capacities. The black race could be assigned the corporate washrooms and other manual occupations like loading and unloading boxes at stores like Amazon and Staples (or their equivalents if these two businesses fail to make it to the end state). The white Europeans would recall the frenzied rush to meet the Y2K deadline for updating computer programs for the change in millennium on January 1, 2000. They recall that they had relied on Indian programmers to come to Europe to help meet the deadline. They had realized then how tremendously gifted Indian men and women are at mathematics, engineering, IT and so on. It would seem a no-brainer to them to assign the IT and engineering sector and its many occupations to Indians and Chinese, another very talented “techie” people.

And so on. It is not hard to see where this logic takes us: to a replica of the Hindu caste system. There is, as I have observed, a teleology buried deep at the center of the Kant-Darwin model of the races. The supremacy of the white race leads inexorably to a division of labor resembling that of the Hindu caste system. But the Hindu caste system differs in one fundamental way from the imagined caste system at the “end of history”: the Hindus caught up in their caste system are not being ruled by another caste or race. They are all subject to

the *dharma*, the Brahmin at the top and the Sudra at the bottom. What rules is *dharma*, which is impersonal, “objective” and primordial in its “legislative” origins. This is not the case with the Kantian end state. There, the white race will be rulers over the lower colored races—all very altruistic and benevolent, of course—who must forever remain as wards of their white guardians and custodians.

Earlier in this essay I had wondered why Kantian philosophers, political theorists and policymakers insist on defending what the lowers races, brilliantly exemplified by Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze, clearly see is indefensible. Can they offer an alternative scenario to the question of the division of labor which I have sketched here?

### **Black Americans Have Already Attained End-Times Perpetual Peace**

In this section I will present a provocative thesis to the refutation of which I expect yet one more “How dare you?” campaign from Kantians. The thesis may be stated in the following way: America’s African American people have already attained the state of affairs that Kant’s insight into the “plan” of Nature revealed to him, namely, that human history—which is just the human component of Natural history—is moving toward a Nature-defined *telos* under the noble and altruistic mentorship of the European peoples. This *telos* will be marked by “perpetual peace” under the enlightened federation of peaceful and peace-loving European states. The colored races will have shed all their ancestral culture, religion, language, and every bit of their way of life and will have adopted, *in toto*, the civilization of the white European race.

Indeed, the only feature of the colored races that will not change will be their skin color. Skin color will not change because the upliftment of the colored races and their “humanization” is being conducted by the European race, and the European race cannot change that which Nature has endowed and, in effect, mandated, namely, that the human natures of the colored races will remain at the sub-par level to that of the complete human nature of the European race. And because their respective human natures must remain imperfect and incomplete, so must their skin colors remain unchanged because skin color is the external visible “evidence” of these imperfect human natures. I explain this process of civilizational upliftment of the colored races, and the invariance of their skin color during this upliftment process, with the White Golf Ball analogy.

### **Perpetual Peace and End Times: White Golf Ball Analogy**

We imagine five objects: a White Golf Ball and three other objects of different shapes having, respectively, yellow, black and red colors, with the red and black objects very ugly in appearance (the way Kant would have liked to see them).



The *shapes* of these objects represent their respective *civilizations* (or cultures, for Kant refuses to acknowledge that Africans and “Indians”—Native Americans—produced any civilization). If we “implement” the proposals in his *Perpetual Peace*, the White Golf Ball (European civilization) assumes mentorship over the other objects. It is guided in this mentorship by its Practical Reason (which the other objects lack or possess in a stunted or imperfect form). As the White Golf Ball proceeds with its mentoring duties, we watch the other objects and we see, slowly, their *shapes* change. This process is a temporal process, historical, and seemingly teleological because as we watch closely the transformation in the *shapes* of these yellow, red and black objects, we can discern the outlines of the *spherical shape* that each of these objects acquires. All these non-white objects are now tending toward the shape of the White Golf Ball. History, the forward temporal movement of the four objects, is discernibly becoming “universal” (all of them are now spherical in *shape* even if they retain their *colors*). This history also clearly has a *purpose* (tendency or intent) in moving toward perfect sphericity. (The sphere was regarded by the ancient Greeks as the perfect shape, so it is fitting, in our example, that the White Golf Ball, representing European civilization, should be represented by the perfect shape, the sphere).

The White Golf Ball is perfect in every sense. This perfection is represented by its spherical shape. The White Golf Ball is “universal” in being the *telos* for other inferior civilizations toward which they should move or “tend” with “intent” to reach it. As the White Golf Ball begins to teach these other colored objects (races), they progressively shed their ancestral cultures, languages and moral systems and replace them with those of European civilization. This is reflected in their changing shapes: they become more and more spherical. The history that unfolds is increasingly “universal” in Kant’s second sense: all objects, except the White Golf Ball, which is already a sphere, are turning into spheres. Under the altruistic and benevolent paternalism of its Practical Reason, European civilization “implements” the prescriptions of *Perpetual Peace*, and as a result of this tutelage, history “tends” toward all objects becoming spherical—toward “universal history.” They become like the White Golf Ball in *shape* only. But their *colors* do not change.

The reason their *colors* do not change is that, as we have seen above, Kant regarded skin color as the surface physical manifestation of a transcendently endowed imperfect humanity among the colored races—this imperfection consisting in their imperfect rational and moral capacities that prevent them from attaining the dignity of full human nature. Kant’s entire philosophic exercise in grounding his conception of race on a transcendental source is tantamount to saying—since he does not state it explicitly—that the colored races are inferior, and stand in need of *perpetual* European tutelage, because the cosmos has not endowed them with Practical Reason. Had it endowed them with Practical Reason, their skin color would

have been white, since white color is the perfect color, and they too, not just Europeans, would have produced a civilization at a peer level, if not identical, to that of the Europeans.

Europeans are the ventilators (the lung machines) supplying oxygen (Practical Reason) to the cosmically under-endowed colored races. Kant clearly envisioned the tutelage of the colored races as a *perpetual* state of affairs because the colored races are inherently incapable of breathing with their own lungs. The notion of perpetuity is consistent with Kant's conception of race. The colored races are innately imperfect in intellect and morality, and this imperfection cannot be overcome by the Europeans because it is transcendental in origin. Returning to our White Golf Ball analogy, the colored objects perpetually tend toward the perfection of the spherical shape but never quite get there. That is why their colors do not change to white: colors are the physical manifestation of the transcendental principle within the colored races. If they were to attain perfect spherical shape, then, according to Kant's conception of the link between skin color and human nature, the human nature of the colored races would have to be fully endowed, as it is for the Europeans. The Europeans cannot tamper with the transcendently given imperfect human nature of the colored races. They must therefore remain resigned to a perpetual stewardship and guardianship of their colored wards.

### The End-Times Attributes of Black Americans

An important but glossed-over feature of Kant's doctrine of perpetual peace is that he is not clear (in his writings) about the nature of this "peace." That peace is the absence of physical violence is clear from the very motivation for his principles of hospitality, cosmopolitanism and a federation of free and peer-level European states. At End Times, it will be this European federation that will govern the world's races. The European states will be at peace among themselves—recall the adage, much beloved by Europeans, that democracies do not fight among themselves—and this mutual peace will be perpetual.

But what will be the "peace status" (the "peace dividend") of the colored races? Kant is silent on this question. Will the civilizational upliftment of the lower races engender in them a love for peace, or will they remain susceptible to violence given that their imperfect human natures will not have been transformed into perfection, leaving them prone to violence? We must ferret out the answer.

Kant envisions the lower races becoming progressively enlightened as Nature moves forward toward the End Times. He states on several occasions that this upliftment of the lower races—recall that the black race can only be trained for servitude and slavery, thus presenting a huge tutoring hurdle to the European mentors—will be accomplished under the tutelage of the European master race, a "fate" for his fellow Europeans to which Albert Schweitzer was

unhappily resigned. In other words, Kant leaves open the possibility that the loss of their ancestral culture, religion, language, social structure and entire way of life will be involuntary and not from willingness of the colored races.

The ability of the European states to forge a state of perpetual peace among themselves stems from their perfect human nature and its perfect intellectual and moral capacities. This cannot be asserted for the lower races, especially of the blacks who sit at the lower end of the hierarchy of the races. Kant's raciology requires us to infer that the lower races will be prone to criminality, violence and other moral and legal infractions, and in response to these violations of morality and law, the European governing regime will find it necessary to institute law enforcement programs to subdue the lower races.

All these core elements of the situation of the lower races at End Times are already present among contemporary black Americans. They are completely white in their culture, religion, language, social structure, popular culture and every other element of white American culture. There is nothing "African" (or Yoruba or Fulani) about them any more in the way there is much visible and recognizable *living* Italian content in the culture of Italian Americans, Irish content in the culture of Irish Americans, or, last but not least, Chinese content in the culture of Chinese Americans. Were it not for his skin color, the black American male (or female) today would not be distinguishable from the white American male (or female) in the way a Sikh American is. Thus black Americans have already fulfilled a key marker for the state of affairs at End Times.

The second key feature of black Americans is that they did not abandon their ancestral culture willingly. As I observed above, Kant leaves open the possibility that the lower races may have to be coerced or manipulated into abandoning their culture and adopting European ways. Sub-Continent Indians and Pakistanis are unlikely to eagerly give up Indian food (I certainly would resist having to give up *dāl roti*). So some form of "persuasion" or coercion will be necessary. In the case of the African slaves, they were abducted and brought to America against their will. Their slave masters destroyed the slave family by selling individual family members to different buyers who took their slaves to different parts of the country. In a single generation the slave culture, religion, language and way of life was destroyed because the parents were unable to pass on their ancestral culture to their children.

Over the generations black Americans had no option other than to adopt white culture, religion, language and every other aspect of white American civilization. There is no other non-white immigrant people that has assimilated white culture as comprehensively as have black Americans. Oprah Winfrey, Don Lemon, Michael Jordan and all black Americans who have been murdered by white police officers were all fully white American in their culture and

religion. Oprah, Lemon, Jordan are “black” solely on account of their skin color in spite of being one hundred percent white in their culture.

So thoroughgoing is the white culture of black Americans that their major educational institutions like Howard University imitate white models of the American university down to imitating the fraternities and sororities for student life. They have become conduits and purveyors of white European civilization into their black communities and are producing black graduates for the white “market” in the outside world. Black educational institutions are unwittingly contributing to the brain drain of their community, a consequence that Kant, to be fair to him, did not specifically envision or even call for, but that is not difficult to derive from his End Times vision.<sup>98</sup> Kant had assigned the task of “Europeanizing” the lower races to his fellow Europeans, but the black colleges have taken on this task themselves, to the satisfaction of white Americans. It was this total disappearance of black Americans’ ancestral culture and their blind imitation of white European civilization that motivated Maulana Karenga to create—to *contrive*—the Kwanza holiday for black Americans as an alternative to white holidays.<sup>99</sup>

But as Kant and as my White Golf Ball analogy illuminate, at the end of the day, none of this assimilation matters, any more than it mattered for the Five Civilized Tribes I described above. What was the Achilles heel of the Five Tribes? It was their (red) skin color and their insufficiently complete human nature that the European settlers had judged as lying outside humanity proper. To the white settlers, the skin colors of Native Americans and black African slaves had “exposed” them as imposters and fraudulent human beings masquerading as humans but who were in reality beasts.

The brutality of law enforcement directed toward black Americans is painfully faithful to Kant’s End Times scenario of perpetual peace in which the lower races, especially the least human of them, the black races, are kept peaceful through white law enforcement. *That is exactly what is happening right now in America*, but on a vastly more brutal scale than even Kant would have tolerated. This brutality is rooted in the Social Darwinian component of the Kant-Darwin model. The Social Darwinian component assigns the black race to the apes, as my foregoing discussion of Ota Benga and others shows. White police officers are conforming to Kant’s vision of End Times which requires that the blacks be kept “peaceful.” However, in their savagery toward black Americans the white police are also conforming to

---

<sup>98</sup> Among the most famous alumni of the Historical Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) are W. E. B. Du Bois, Martin Luther King Jr., the late Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, film director Spike Lee, Oprah Winfrey, South Carolina Congressman James Clyburn, and California Senator Kamala Harris.

<sup>99</sup> A useful starting point for studying the life and work of this important figure in contemporary American history, not just African American history, is the Wikipedia article “Maulana Karenga.” He is presently chair of the African Studies department at California State University, Long Beach.

the vulgar Darwinian evolutionary scheme that views blacks as beasts rather than as fellow humans of the whites.

In sum: the characteristics of present-day black America, including the policing measures implemented by white law enforcement to “keep the peace” in black communities, qualify them as the first race to have already attained End Times “perpetual peace.” But this peace comes with a qualification: it is a state of peace not for black Americans but for *the white race*. Contemporary America’s black people, under the tutelage of white Americans and their law enforcement regime, have already reached the *telos* toward which Nature is moving the races.

### **The Real Significance of Kant’s *Categorical Imperative***

Most white Eurogenic educated people may not have read any of Kant’s works, but they are very likely to have encountered the expression “Categorical Imperative.” Along with Kant’s signature concept of Reason and his short essay, *What is Enlightenment?*, the moral principle that Kant called the “Categorical Imperative” lies at the core of what white Eurogenic people hold forth to the lower races as the distinctive “essence” of their superiority over the lower races.

Kantian philosophers have uniformly taken the Categorical Imperative as evidence of Kant’s universalism, by which they mean that Kant intended this principle to become the principle by which the world’s people live—a moral component of his cosmopolitanism. It is this universalist aspiration that Kant expressed for his Categorical Imperative that his defenders resort to when rebutting the charge that he was a racist.

This universalist interpretation of Kant’s Categorical Imperative cannot be reconciled with his raciology, however much his defenders insist that it is universal in scope. They are interpreting Kant’s term “universal” as a term that embraces all races; that is, they argue that all races will adopt this maxim and, by all of them adopting it, install it as a universal maxim in practice.

It is frankly quite untenable to believe, as Kantian philosophers do, that Kant included the black race and the red race among those to whom he addressed the Categorical Imperative. Kant was addressing his fellow white Europeans, not the lower races whose rational and moral capacities are not capable of actions that can become universal law. To clarify my point, I will assume that I am Kant’s “ghost writer” helping him write in plain and unambiguous language. The rewritten version of the Categorical Imperative—with my editorial help—would run something like the following:

Remember, my fellow Europeans, that you belong to the white race, the European race, which has reached perfection in all areas of human life. We have a cosmically mandated

mission to lead the lower races to higher levels of intellectual and moral achievements, to higher levels of civilization modeled on our European civilization. This mission is a perpetual mission, for after we have lifted them up to the maximum levels that they are capable of, that is, after we have accomplished perpetual peace, they will have to continue being under our tutelage in perpetuity in order to prevent a relapse to their old lower levels. Only you, my fellow Europeans, have been endowed with full Practical Reason. This means that only you are capable of pure obedience to the dictates of Practical Reason in your actions, and when you act in this manner, then your actions, precisely because they implement the dictates of Practical Reason through you, are capable of becoming a law for other humans. Therefore, *act only according to that maxim whereby you can, at the same time, will that it should become a universal law.*

It is a serious misreading of Kant's Categorical Imperative to imply, as Kantian philosophers imply, that Kant was addressing the black man in the jungles of Africa or the "red Indian" in the Americas. If he was, then there was no need for him to develop his raciology and build his vision of perpetual peace under the hegemony of a cosmopolitan European race. Kant's Categorical Imperative was addressed to his fellow Europeans only.

## American Police Departments and Kantian Philosophers

### Startled Bedfellows?

Of all the unsettling analyses, parallels and remarks which I have offered about Kant's raciology in the preceding pages, the link I recognize between it and the American police departments' image of, attitude toward and mowing down of young black men will arouse the most outraged indignation among Kantian philosophers and philosophers generally. I expect this outrage from them, for they have been defending Kant from the charge of ascribing different human natures to colored races.

Just as most of them do not want to study Kant's raciology or want to ignore it even though they know it is problematic for his universalism to which they are drawn, so they have chosen to remain silent as a Kantian community to the actions of the American police departments against the African American community. Had they confronted head-on Kant's raciology and its dehumanizing description of black and red people, they would not have remained silent while their fellow white policemen wantonly gun down black men as though they were wild untamed beasts deserving less rights to live than a dog on the loose on the streets of a southern US city.

It bears repeating that I am not claiming that the police departments, any more than the organizers of human zoos and Buffalo Bill Cody, consciously set out to implement Kant's description of the black and red races. To repeat an example from physics: the Rutherford

planetary model of the atom describes the behavior of atoms in Nature. That does not mean that the atoms in Nature began to act in accordance with Rutherford's model. They were just being themselves and had no clue who Rutherford was. In the same way, Kant's model of the races accurately described what was already in the minds of white Europeans and their settler offspring. Through their internal cultural mechanisms, whites have been able to pass on their views of the colored peoples to their succeeding generations.

The white races that conquered the non-white races and regarded them as subhuman species, and the academics, scholars and organizers of the human zoos, exhibitions and circuses, and Kevin Carter's infamous photo, all were on the same page as the present-day police departments in the view they hold of black people. It is not Kant who is culpable for the murderous actions of white police officers, it is today's Kantian philosophical establishment that is culpably complicit by its silence on the monstrosities of the US police departments. They cannot pretend not to know that the image of the black man held by white police departments is the image Kant modeled. They know, if they are honest, that the police departments and white police officers are among the purest Kantians in their raciology.

By remaining silent at the Kant-Darwin racism of American police departments and law enforcement institutions, Kantian philosophers have placed themselves in the position of condoning Kant's raciology. The reason Kantian philosophers remain silent as they watch TV news showing the latest successful "hunt" by some white hunter-police officer is because they have not been sufficiently outraged by Kant's raciology to even teach courses on this subject. They would rather not think about it and instead focus on the "real" Kant, the Kant of the Enlightenment, of the *Critique of Pure Reason*, of the Categorical Imperative, of Practical Reason, of Perpetual Peace, of Cosmopolitanism, of human "dignity," "autonomy," and so on. To them, this is the "real" Kant whereas that other Kant—the Kant who developed the most rigorous and sophisticated theory of the inherent imperfectability of the colored races—that is the Kant who our Kantian philosophers would rather not think about, let alone repudiate and teach to their students.

In the American political system, the typical congressman or congresswoman has a law degree. Congress is the legislative branch defined by the Constitution. Drafting legal documents requires competence in law and legal reasoning. But it also requires an ability in moral reasoning. These informal prerequisites for public service are reflected in the philosophy courses that would-be law students take at university. Moral philosophy is one of the core courses law-bound students take. The courses that Harvard's famous John Rawls taught were aimed not just at philosophy majors, they were aimed also at students who planned to move on to law school and, for some, to public service including state and federal legislative bodies like Congress.

These legislators must know who Kant was and what his moral philosophy was. It is here that Kant's raciology has been missing. In spite of more than 20 years of studies on Kant's theory of race, Kantian moral philosophers continue to ignore it in their courses on Kant's philosophy. Reforms in the police departments can come only through legislation at the state and federal levels, and these reforms require legislators who have been exposed to the Kant-Darwin model in their law and philosophy courses. By refusing to confront Kant's raciology and by continuing to teach his "intra-white" moral philosophy, Kantian philosophers are "aiding and abetting" the police departments in their neo-Nazi incremental genocide against black Americans.

Philosophers from the days of Aristotle eschewed getting involved with the practical world and sullyng their minds with mundane matters that are best left to practical people like merchants. Their vocation is to think and even to think about thinking, not to get their hands dirty. But Kant's Practical Reason is very much about action and the ethics of action in this mundane world. Is that not a call from him for philosophers to be "activist" philosophers, practicing philosophy instead of just thinking, talking and writing about it?

White philosophers in American universities have known for decades that the police departments brutalize black Americans and kill them wantonly. As white Eurogenic philosophers, they are endowed by Nature with a perfect Practical Reason that benighted wretches like me have been denied. Had they wished to be true disciples of Kant's Practical Reason, they would have become engaged with police brutality and they would have proposed practical solutions that the state legislatures or Congress would have turned into legislation. Instead, they, through the American Philosophical Association, settle on issuing anti-racism declarations that will sit on their websites for a while before being archived. This is exactly the course of action they have adopted in response to the killing of George Floyd and the protests that have exploded all over the country.

As someone who is not white, why would it be unreasonable of me to suspect that, you know, maybe white Kantian philosophers do, after all, even if in a much-attenuated form, subscribe to Kant's raciology? Why would it be unreasonable of me to suspect that the evangelical fervor the Kantian philosophers show as they promote Kant's ideas about cosmopolitanism and world peace is fueled by their deep-seated but unacknowledged conviction that they, the white Eurogenic race, are indeed the superior race and that it is indeed their mission to become mentors to benighted half-cooked human natures like myself and perpetually remain my mentors?

Why would it be unreasonable of me to regard Kant's race theory as expressing the real Kant? I understand fully why white Kantians buzz like bees around the nectar of the *Critiques* and other works of a mighty mind who wrote these works as an intra-white conversation and



sermon. But why would it be unreasonable of me to point out to Kantian philosophers that Kant did not—*could not*—write these works for me, a colored individual transcendentally gifted with imperfect Reason?

There is, therefore, an oblique link between the aggressive evangelical race-based cosmopolitanism of Kantian philosophers and the *Kantian race theory that is at the heart of American police departments*. Kantian philosophers are silent at the murderous behavior of white police officers because they are silent about their own unacknowledged, unexamined and repudiated deep-seated Kantian raciology.

It is sobering and painful for someone like me to discern another troubling connection between the American police departments and the Kantian philosophy establishment: both are overwhelmingly white, and both see themselves as protectors of white European civilization—the police by helpfully, if incrementally, *biologically* wiping out the blacks and cleansing society of the lower races, the Kantians by *rationally* evangelizing and converting the colored races to Kant's vision of an End Times in which white Eurogenic peoples rule the world. The white supremacy of police departments is *overt*. The white supremacy of the philosophy establishment is *covert*.

The bed that the philosophy establishment (including the APA) shares with the American police departments is the bed of supremacy and eliminationism, *cultural* in the case of the philosophy establishment, *biological* in the case of the police departments.

It is not enough for Kantian philosophers to conjure defenses for what is indefensible in Kant's philosophy. Instead, they ought to unequivocally repudiate and distance themselves from Kant's skin-color raciology that dehumanizes the colored peoples. But more importantly, they need to stop peddling his vision for a monocultural cosmopolitanism to the colored peoples. Kantian apologists and evangelists for his vision of an End Times cosmopolitan perpetual peace need to acknowledge—which, troublingly for me, they do not—that to attain Kant's End Times perpetual peace the cultures, religions and languages of the colored peoples will have to be erased from the world, leaving only the (English language?) Enlightenment culture of white European peoples as the supreme civilization. They must do this. But before they can summon their consciences to step forward and repudiate Kant, they will need to look within themselves and confront and overcome the Kantian raciology that has muzzled their consciences. Only then would it be unreasonable of me to insist on a Kantian kinship between them and the exterminationist white police departments in the US.

## VII

### Philosophy is Modeled on Kant's Raciology

#### Philosophy Conforms to Kant's Genus-Species Model of the Races

The APA deserves to be commended for responding quickly to the murder of George Floyd and for undertaking the task of building an anti-racism database of literature and other materials (videos, audios, Power Point slides, and others). In the preceding discussion, I have urged the APA and the philosophy community to confront the raciology of the Enlightenment thinkers, of which that of Immanuel Kant is foundational.

Philosophy's problem with racism is not simply confined to the Enlightenment philosophers and literati like Voltaire. It concerns philosophy in its entirety: how it is envisioned and by whom, how it is structured, what its scope and content should be, how it is practiced, how it is taught, what criteria are defined for what should be accepted as philosophy, and so on.

To correctly recognize the roots of philosophy's problem with racism, we need to consider its relation to specialized disciplines like Black philosophy, Chinese philosophy, Indian philosophy, Jewish philosophy, Islamic philosophy, and so on. On one side is philosophy, on the other side are these specialized philosophies. It is not difficult to identify the binaries that govern these two sides: universal/particular, general/special, unrestricted/restricted, etc. But it is Kant's genus-species schema for the races that is most illuminating for understanding philosophy's relation to racism.

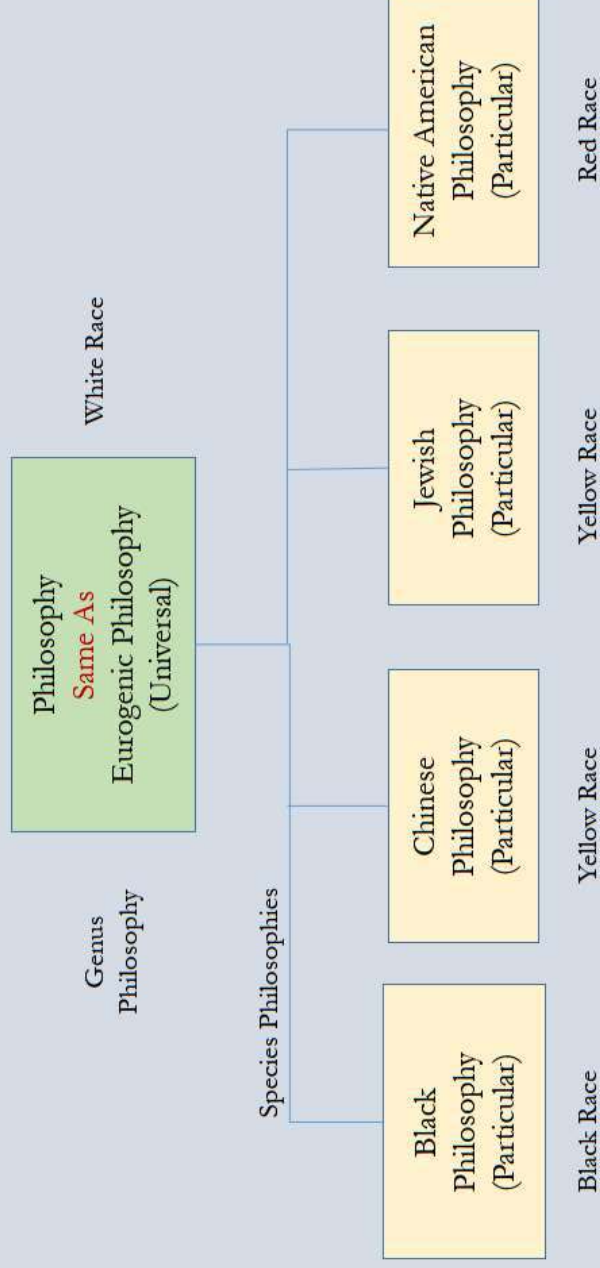
We saw earlier in our discussion that Kant adapted the biological concept of genus-species to aid him in his conceptualization of the races. The European race was the genus and the other three races were the species. Kant defended his decision to designate the European race as a *genus* and not a specie by arguing that, one, the original stock from which the four races emerged no longer exists, and, two, that the European race is the closest in its human nature—that is, in its rational, moral and civilizational capacities—to the perfect human nature of the original stock and on that account deserves to be categorized as a genus.

If we now turn our gaze to the various philosophies, we can readily categorize them into the four skin colors identified by Kant as biological correlates of the transcendental human natures of the races. Black Philosophy, of course, is the easiest to place in Kant's "Black race" category (Plate 1). Native American and Indigenous Philosophy is also readily placed in his

# Plate 1

## Philosophy Today

Philosophy today is modeled on the Kantian Scheme of the Races



Eurogenic philosophers conventionally trace Philosophy from Pre-Socratics through the Greco-Roman traditions into Medieval Philosophy and its continuation and further development in the present-day philosophical schools and movements in Europe, Britain, Canada, the US, Latin America, Australia and New Zealand. I would also include in this Eurogenic group the white South Africans. Even though it is clear even to a third grader that these traditions are marked and particularized by time and space, and are therefore historically contingent, the supremely Reason-guided minds in these traditions were able to convince themselves that this *particular* nature of Eurogenic philosophy is in reality *universal* philosophy.

“Red race” category. The rest—Chinese, Indian, Arab, Jewish, Hispanic/Latino and other philosophies—are conveniently assembled in Kant’s “Yellow race” category.

In other words, the philosophy community has reproduced Kant’s genus-species schema: the white European race is to the colored races what *white* philosophy is to the *colored* philosophies. Philosophies carrying religious labels, for example, Islamic Philosophy, are, in the Kantian schema, philosophies developed by colored races (black and yellow in the case of Muslims). What we have come to regard as “philosophy” without a qualifier is actually *white* philosophy mapped from the *white* European race. And just as Kant regarded the European race as a genus that can dispense with the qualifier “white,” so “Philosophy” is regarded by its white proprietors as a genus that can dispense with the qualifier “Western” or “European.” And just as the European race is *universal* in being endowed with a perfect human nature and its perfect rational and moral capacities, so is the blessed group of white philosophers endowed with perfect rational and moral capacities with which they have registered unmatched (by the colored races) philosophical accomplishments.

The mapping of Kant’s color schema to philosophy is not fortuitous. Philosophy is a white European (Eurogenic) enterprise. It is a component of European civilization. More specifically, it is a component of the rational activities and achievements of white European civilization. Non-white philosophers in the philosophy community have attained to their rational philosophical levels under the direct tutelage of white philosophers and indirectly under white philosophers through the latter’s writings (say, Locke and Rawls).

At all levels of their rise up the academic ladder and up the APA’s organizational ladder, non-white philosophers owe their rise to their white tutors or to the executive boards and their sub-committees. Non-white philosophers know that they are studying a philosophical tradition that is different from their indigenous or ancestral philosophical tradition (Indian, Arab, Chinese, etc.). These developments within the philosophy community accord perfectly with Kant’s “philosophical history” in which he envisions the white European race assuming mentorship of the colored races and lifting them up intellectually, morally and civilizationally. Considered from that “universal history” perspective, the white overclass in the philosophy community can deservedly pat itself on the back for a job well done so far.

Philosophy’s problems with racism are integral to white Eurogenic people’s racism in society. This is the case because whites in the philosophy community are not immune from, nor are they free from, Kant-Darwin racism. I am not referring to the racism of the Enlightenment philosophers like Hume, Kant and Hegel. I am referring to the racism among white practitioners of philosophy. Unless this important feature of the philosophy community is understood, we will be hard-pressed to explain the existence of colored “species” philosophy

like Black Philosophy, Chinese Philosophy, and so on. These “species” came about from decisions taken by the top-level white decision-makers in the philosophy community.

The entrenched self-inflicted illusion under which the white philosophy establishment labors, reassures them that by creating “species” philosophy disciplines like Black Philosophy it is responding constructively to racism in society and also in the philosophy community as well as in its philosophy curriculum and in the APA. The latest action of the APA, seeking input for an anti-racism resource database, is also an action taken under the thrall of this illusion. These decisions perpetuate the Kantian genus-species schema whose foundational idea is that white is perfect and color is imperfect, that white is the universal whereas color is the particular; that white rationality (manifested as philosophy) and morality are the norm that the colored philosophers must adopt and become adept at so to be accepted by their white mentors as competent to think “philosophically.”

If we follow the discourse within these “species” philosophies, we find that one theme running through it is the question whether the philosophy that they do or practice is authentic or legitimate philosophy. Is “Black Philosophy” legitimate? Is “Jewish Philosophy” philosophy? Does “African Philosophy” even exist? Blacks, Jews, Africans and, I am sure, their brethren in Chinese, Indian, Islamic and other philosophy disciplines are grappling with these questions relating to their rational capacities. They are not aware that the reason they are grappling with these questions is that a Kantian genus-species order has been imposed on them, and this order is based on the Kantian conception of the Nature-endowed deformed rationality of the colored races. The very existence of (universal) philosophy that engenders (particular) species philosophies sets the framework within which the Black or Arab pretender-philosopher must labor to prove to his or her white rational superiors, mentors and judges that they can “do philosophy.” By allowing themselves to be sucked into this Kantian genus-species scheme, colored philosophers have unwittingly acquiesced to the “truth” of Kant’s claims about the unequal human natures of the colored races and to the necessity of the colored races to place themselves under the tutelage of their white Eurogenic rational overlords.

### Autochthony and Self-Sufficiency of White Eurogenic Philosophy

White philosophers regard the entire history of Eurogenic philosophy, from the Pre-Socratics to the present, as originating in and developing from purely internal sources. In this important element of Eurogenic Grand Narrative, Eurogenic philosophy was not influenced in any way by non-Eurogenic ideas or philosophies. Kant’s color-based genus-species schema captures this mindset quite well. If the philosophies of the colored races are species of the Eurogenic white genus, then it is conceptually not consistent that the genus should borrow its properties from its species. The very point of the genus-species schema is that the species derive their

properties from those of the genus. The genus does not derive its properties from the species. Since white Eurogenic philosophy is the genus, its autochthonous and self-sufficient nature is—and *should* be to colored individuals like me—self evident.

This dogma of self-sufficiency has created a very ahistorical picture of the history of Eurogenic philosophy. I say more on this topic later in this essay, but here I will mention one example of this denial: the influence of Islamic and Jewish philosophy on the development of European philosophy. The works of Catholic theologians like Saint Thomas Aquinas are littered with the names of Muslim philosophers—Al-Farabi, Avicenna, Averroes, others—from whom he and his fellow theologians eagerly borrowed ideas and looked upon these Muslim philosophers as their authoritative guides. The Catholic scholar Robert Hammond studied Al-Farabi’s influence on the Catholic Church and published his findings in his book, *The Philosophy of Al Farabi and Its Influence on Medieval Thought* (1947). In this book, Hammond places passages from Catholic theologians side by side with passages from Al-Farabi to show the remarkable similarities between the two passages. Today we would describe the work of the Catholic theologians as plagiarism.

### The Kantianism of Philosophy’s Apartheid Structure: Bantustans and Reservations

White Eurogenic philosophers will recoil and take great offense at my observation that the present Kantian genus-species organization of academic philosophy is a type of apartheid in which the black, yellow and red philosophers are confined to their respective “Bantustans” where they can “do” Black philosophy, Chinese or Jewish philosophy, Native American and Indigenous philosophy, and so on. Meanwhile, white philosophers carry on “doing” *real* philosophy. I do not think I am wide of the mark when I suspect that most white philosophers do not think that when a Native American philosopher writes about the philosophy of tribal sacred liturgies, or when a Black philosopher writes about the Black “experience” of racism, that they are “doing” authentic philosophy of the sort that a Kantian does when analyzing Kant’s concept of the “manifold.”

White philosophers have felt morally compelled to acknowledge and atone for the genocide and robbery of Native American land, and for the destruction of Black religion, culture and family structure of the slaves. They have allocated to these two sets of philosophers “reserved” spaces within the philosophy community and in the APA where they can go and “play” as they like as long as they label their intellectual activity “Black philosophy” or “Native American and Indigenous philosophy” but not “philosophy.” Recall that Hegel had described Africans as “children.” The white overlords at the APA and in the philosophy community have treated Blacks and Native Americans as if they were children whose parents indulge them and allow them to “play” at pretend-philosophy secure in the knowledge that whatever Black philosophers think and say about the Black “experience,” it is not real “philosophy.” Philosophy’s troubles with racism have indeed taken different but unsuspected forms.

## The APA's Newsletters for Yellow, Black and Red Philosophers

In 2001 the APA launched several newsletters dedicated to philosophical studies for yellow, black and red philosophers (I am adhering to Kant's genus-species schema). The newsletter on *Philosophy and the Black Experience* creates space and platform for primarily Black philosophers to "do" Black philosophy. The newsletter on *Native American and Indigenous Philosophy* serves a similar function for Native American philosophers.

Among the yellow philosophers, the newsletter on *Asian and Asian-American Philosophers and Philosophies* caters to the needs and interests of a wide range of philosophers from Asian backgrounds. These include predominantly Indian, Chinese and Japanese philosophers. But white Eurogenic philosophers specializing in any of these Asian philosophies also contribute to this newsletter. A second newsletter in the yellow group is the newsletter on *Hispanic/Latino Issues in Philosophy*. These four newsletters conform neatly to Kant's skin-color schema: one for Blacks, one for (red) Native Americans, one for the (yellow) Asians, and the fourth for the (yellow) Hispanics/Latinos.

Not surprisingly, African Americans and Native Americans who specialize in academic philosophy have had an embattled relationship with what they call "canonical" philosophy, that is, "philosophy" as Eurogenic philosophers call it. But they differ in their estimation of what canonical philosophy can offer to them that would "speak" to their experiences as Blacks or Indigenous. Native Americans insist on the incommensurability of the two traditions of thought—Indigenous and canonical—and see their vocation as philosophers to articulate Indigenous beliefs and practices in the lexicon of canonical philosophy whenever this lexicon can do the job. Besides this task, they also seek to inject into canonical philosophy Indigenous concepts in the conviction that they will enrich canonical philosophy. Needless to say, they also lament the indifference to these concepts among canonical philosophers.

The state of affairs with Black philosophers, reflected in the discourse published in their newsletter, is quite different from that obtaining among Native American philosophers. This difference is alluded to in the names of the respective newsletters: "experience" in the case of Blacks and "philosophy" in the case of Native Americans. Why not Black "philosophy"? Indeed, the question, whether there is such a thing as "Black Philosophy" and whether it is a legitimate academic discipline, vexes the minds of some authors in the newsletter. There is no explanation or justification offered by either the Black philosophers or the APA's supreme committee (that approved the creation of the newsletter) for settling on the word "experience" in favor of "philosophy." I will venture an explanation that my Black brethren are welcome to comment on.

The stark empirical reality about slavery is that it completely wiped out the ancestral African cultures of the slaves. Cultures perpetuate themselves through the conduit of their families and collective religious and cultural practices. The slave masters tore up the African family by selling off individual members—grandparents, parents, children, and extended family members—to different buyers who took them far away from each other, never to be heard of again. In one stroke, in one generation, millennia of African cultural evolution that had lived through the minds, souls and bodies of the slaves were erased from the slave communities in the US.

There is today nothing “African” about African Americans (an observation I have already made earlier in his article). There are no traditional African beliefs, rituals, dances, etc. that have survived the destruction of the slave family. Had these elements of their culture survived, Black philosophers, like their Native American brethren, would have been justified in making the case that these cultural elements contained beliefs and practices (ethics) that had philosophical significance whose disciplined study merited the name “philosophy.” Having acknowledged that all they have to work with is “experience,” by which they mean the experiences of living in white American society and under a white-owned and dominated state, they find themselves invoking canonical philosophy for concepts and analytical methods to undertake philosophical analyses about their concept-less “experiences.” The most dominant “experience” that they philosophize about is racism and its different forms in different contexts. A lament that one encounters in the pages of their newsletter is that canonical philosophy often lacks the appropriate tools for analyzing the Black experience because this Black experience is absent from the experiential repertoire of Eurogenic peoples who developed canonical philosophy. In other words, canonical philosophy cannot always speak to the Black experience.

A very distressing feature of the newsletter on *Philosophy and the Black Experience* is the complete absence of any mention or discussion of Immanuel Kant’s raciology and the debate that Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze’s 1997 article generated. There is today a substantial scholarly literature on Kant’s raciology. Black academic philosophers cannot be unaware of it. How is one to explain this unsettling silence? I can only venture a guess.

It seems to me that we are dealing here with a case of “self-censorship” of the sort that Noam Chomsky (and Edward Herman) first elaborated in their famous book, *Manufacturing Consent*.<sup>100</sup> In the case of journalists—the subject of their book—self-censorship is an act undertaken by a journalist to voluntarily filter out material that he or she fears will offend the power elite who will retaliate by cutting off the journalist from future access to them. The journalist pre-empts himself to save his job. Something similar may be happening with the Black philosophers: they

---

<sup>100</sup> *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman, 1988.



do not want to displease their white “overlords” in the APA’s executive committee through self-destructive blasphemous acts like exposing and writing about the racism of the Enlightenment philosophers.

### Struggling with Philosophy’s Apartheid Structure: Chinese Philosophy

Of the four newsletters, the one on Asian philosophies reveals most clearly the sense of dejection felt by philosophers working in Indian, Chinese or Japanese philosophical traditions. Several articles in the newsletter express the authors’ dispiriting experiences when they sought to publish their articles in “general audience” philosophy journals. They receive swift rejections on the grounds that the articles do not represent “philosophy” or that they are about non-Western traditions.<sup>101</sup> Many philosophy journals carry universalist and general titles without any qualifiers but in reality accept only submissions that deal with “Western” philosophy. For example, the *Journal of the History of Philosophy*—one of my favorite journals— or the *British Journal of the History of Philosophy* “state explicitly in their instructions to prospective authors that they canvass only history of Western philosophy.”<sup>102</sup>

A common observation made by philosophers specializing in Asian philosophies is that Western philosophers are simply not interested in non-Western philosophies. For example, to paraphrase the scenario discussed by Amy Olberding in her paper cited earlier, someone may be working on Aristotle’s ethical theory, while another scholar may be working on Confucius’ ethical theory. The former scholar has a wide range of philosophy journals that would accept his paper. The latter scholar, on the other hand, has to confine himself or herself to the few journals specializing in non-Western philosophies. The problem here is that audiences that are interested in Aristotle’s ethical theory are audiences that limit their interest to Western philosophy and will not be interested in Asian ethical theory, let alone that of Confucius.

The very first inaugural issue of the newsletter, the Fall 2001 issue, is devoted to the concern over the *bona fides* of Asian philosophy. Scholars working in Indian, Chinese and Japanese philosophy bristle at the dismissiveness and denigration of their respective traditions as not really “doing” philosophy but, at the most, doing “ethnophilosophy.” In order to enlarge the “tent” of philosophy to include Asian philosophy as “philosophy” without qualifications,

---

<sup>101</sup> I will adhere to the term “Western” in this section because I am giving an exposition of the views of scholars operating in this domain of philosophy. Their discourse is centered on the Western versus non-Western binary and it seems to me that my preferred term “Eurogenic” with its Australian and New Zealand connotations will unnecessarily distort the meaning of the word “Western” these scholars have in mind.

<sup>102</sup> This remark comes from Amy Olberding’s plaintive complaint in her fine article, “Chinese Philosophy and Wider Philosophical Discourses: Including Chinese Philosophy in General Audience Philosophy Journals,” in the *APA’s Newsletter on Asian and Asian-American Philosophers and Philosophies*, Volume 15, Number 2, Spring 2016, pp. 2-9. The author suggests (footnote 6, p.8) that such journals should “flag” their own Western “geocultural limitations” in their titles. Her view is very much in accord with my recommendations.

some philosophers specializing in Asian philosophies have resorted to asking “What is philosophy?” as a strategy to define “philosophy” with criteria that Asian philosophies and philosophers meet and therefore qualify as “philosophy” and not just as “Chinese philosophy.”<sup>103</sup>

There are two features of this “belonging and banishment” complaint articulated in these newsletters. The first is the feeling of exclusion, of invalidation, of rejection, of the charge of intellectual shortcomings and of parochiality (as opposed to the generality or universality of Western philosophy) that these scholars experience. Their Western counterparts (and journal editors) seem to be saying to them, “There is nothing in Buddhism, Hinduism, Chinese or Japanese thought that offers us anything that we do not already have in our Western tradition.” This attitude reflects the principle of self-sufficiency I have briefly discussed earlier.

The second feature is the desire, even *craving*, by these scholars to be admitted into the hallowed walls and inner sanctum of “Philosophy.” They want to be read by the “general audience,” that is, by the same audience that regards Western philosophy as the only true or real philosophy. Unlike Black and Native American traditions of thought, Asian intellectual traditions are very rich in concepts and conceptualizations by Indian, Chinese and Japanese thinkers and savants. This is especially true of ethical theory. Scholars of Asian philosophies (rightly) believe that these traditions can contribute concepts and methods to contemporary theorizing on all sorts of topics that engage those working in the Western tradition.

These well-meaning scholars are failing to understand their rejection by their Western counterparts because they do not recognize the Kant-Darwin model at the base of the philosophy community and the APA. Kant set the ball rolling by placing the yellow (Asian) races below the white European race. Even though these yellow races have slowly and incrementally been admitted into the white philosophy community (for examples, being hired as faculty to teach some subject in “philosophy” such as feminism), the overwhelming number of white philosophers in the philosophy community and in APA view the “species” races as fundamentally inferior to the white genus (European) race in rational (philosophizing) capacities.

By definition, as it were, they look at yellow rationality and know that it is deficient, just as Kant saw a black man and knew right away, without having to consider the merits of the black man’s ideas, that he was stupid. Yellow philosophies may not be stupid to the degree that the black man’s is, but it is, shall we say, less stupid and so not worth considering. And because these well-meaning philosophers do not recognize the Kant-Darwin model lying at the basis

---

<sup>103</sup> *Newsletter on Asian and Asian-American Philosophers and Philosophies*, Volume 1, Number 1, Fall 2001. The article by Robert C. Solomon is noteworthy: “What is Philosophy? The Status of Non-Western Philosophy in the Profession,” pp. 27-29. “The very conception of what counts as philosophy has to be seriously revised” (p. 29).

of the Western versus non-Western distinction they bemoan, they fail to recognize that their “species” discipline is in reality a Bantustan or reservation set up under the guiding hand of the Kant-Darwin model. They have been unwittingly drafted into participating, endorsing and perpetuating the philosophical apartheid system even as they do not want to be confined to their Bantustan and want to join white universal philosophical society.

### **The Evangelism of the Philosophy Establishment**

Evangelism is the primary mission of the European races. In the previous pages I have discussed Kant’s conception of universal history as a Nature-driven forward movement of human history. The European races have been designated by Nature to mentor the lower races and elevate their rational, moral and civilizational accomplishments toward Nature’s distant state of perpetual peace, under which the colored races will be governed altruistically and justly by a federation of free and peer-level European states. To be a European, in Kant’s conception, is to be part of Nature’s “plan” for humanity. The task that Nature has charged Europeans with is a task for individual Europeans, not just for the elite of European society.

White Eurogenic philosophers who own, control and run philosophy today are imbued with this Kant-enunciated Nature’s missionary task for them. The genus-species organization of philosophy along racial lines is one manifestation of this Kantian mission. Another is the APA’s “outreach” to China and other (colored) countries in Africa in the form of “exchanges” and deputations of philosophers visiting philosophy departments at Chinese universities to promote philosophy. These missions have instantly smacked of condescension and superiority complex to me. The APA and other groups of philosophers do not reach out to learn about Chinese philosophy because they believe that Lao Tze or other Chinese philosophers possess a richer insight into, say, ethics than that of the Classical and Modern traditions in Eurogenic philosophy. Quite the contrary: they reach out to China because the collapse of the Soviet Union has opened up a path to the Chinese philosophy departments—themselves already imitations of Eurogenic models—to evangelize (white, universal) philosophy and mentor the Chinese in “how to do philosophy.”

One common but deceptive method of evangelism is for some Chinese student or scholar—I am staying with China for my example, but the observation applies to other philosophy species too—to undertake comparative studies involving a Chinese philosopher (or sage) and a counterpart Eurogenic philosopher. Perhaps the APA and the philosophy community do indeed view such comparative studies as enriching philosophy. There are two general observations I would make here on such projects.

The first is that the colored student or scholar who undertakes this comparative study typically presents his “indigenous” philosopher as a peer-level thinker to his Eurogenic counterpart.

The sentiment animating such studies may be framed in the following words, to take two examples: “Taoism, too, is like Stoicism” (China), and “Mulla Sadra’s doctrine of Being is similar to that of Heidegger” (Iran). In such “parallelism” studies, the white European philosopher remains and perpetuates himself as the Kantian standard to which the colored philosopher aspires to reach. For real substantive comparative studies, one is compelled to seek outside the philosophy community. One outstanding example is the great Japanese scholar Toshihiko Izutsu’s remarkable study of Taoism and Sufism: *Sufism and Taoism: A Study of Key Philosophical Concepts* (1983).

The second observation is that I have yet to see a white philosopher acknowledge or actually incorporate into his or her own personal philosophy a philosophical insight or concept from any of the colored philosophic traditions in the world. The attitude of white philosophers to the philosophical traditions of colored races is one of “respectful paternalism” that is less grating than the “compassionate paternalism” of Albert Schweitzer.

In my own studies of Taoism and Stoicism I have been struck by similarities in attitude to the world and by the ethics developed by the masters of the two traditions. There is no possibility here of indulging the impulse of some white philosophers to immediately assume the influence of Stoicism on Lao Tze (or Lao Tzu) or his disciples. Martha Nussbaum’s latest study, *The Cosmopolitan Tradition: A Noble but Flawed Ideal* (2019) devotes considerable space to Stoicism whose concepts of dignity and rationality serve as the analytic thread through the conceptualizations of dignity and of the role of reason in subsequent centuries in Europe.

### Martha Nussbaum’s Schweitzerian Kantianism

Whenever she acknowledges non-Eurogenic traditions in which these concepts are also important, Nussbaum does not evince any interest in studying them with the intention of *learning* philosophy from them. This is the case with her passing reference to Taoism. In her book she discusses the relation of reason to religion. Kant, she remarks, was a “religious rationalist” who held that religion ought to confine itself within the limits of reason. Stoic religion was rationalist, as are Buddhism and Taoism: they do not encounter any difficulties reconciling “their religious commitments with those of secular philosophy.”<sup>104</sup> Another example from the same book is her reference to her interest in “theories of justice” stemming from her concern that state constitutions should incorporate the development of basic human capabilities<sup>105</sup> as their objective. Nussbaum is well aware of Amartya Sen’s treatment of Indian theories of justice in his book, *The Idea of Justice* (2009), but she does not even mention it, let alone inform us whether she has read it or not.

---

<sup>104</sup> *The Cosmopolitan Tradition*, p. 215.

<sup>105</sup> Nussbaum and Amartya Sen collaborated on issues in international development. They came up with what they called the Capabilities Approach to human development. *The Cosmopolitan Tradition* presents a substantive discussion of the Capabilities Approach.

In all her writings on topics on which thinkers, sages and philosophers in colored traditions have offered their ideas, Nussbaum has shown no interest in learning about these non-Eurogenic views other than to make passing references to them. Her philosophical activity seems to proceed on the principle of self-sufficiency, the notion that white universalist philosophy contains all the concepts, principles and methods for analyzing and understanding the human condition; it is therefore not necessary to look to colored philosophical traditions for these intellectual and moral resources.

Her evangelism is quite evident in *The Cosmopolitan Tradition*, for in it she is presenting cosmopolitanism as a normative set of philosophical principles for colored peoples to adopt. She invokes Nelson Mandela in support of her claim that cosmopolitan principles and ideals will be attractive to colored peoples. Early in the book, she writes that Nelson Mandela had access to *Meditations*, a work of the Stoic philosopher Marcus Aurelius. She then, rather eagerly, ventures the thought that when “South Africa’s constitution was written, it contained these [Stoic] ideas.” But she quickly reins in her eagerness and acknowledges that these Stoic ideas may have “at least dovetailed with ideas that Mandela had already derived from his own traditions and experience.”<sup>106</sup> [I write about the humanism of ancient African and Indigenous cultures later in this article.]

Her evangelism on behalf of Eurogenic cosmopolitanism tempts her to build a mountain out of a molehill. That Nelson Mandela possessed or read works by Stoic philosophers will not strike as noteworthy to African intellectuals who grew up under colonial rule. African intelligentsia were typically widely read and built internationalist personal libraries. The practice typically started in high school (as it did in my case) and continued into post-schooling life. Someone of the stature of Nelson Mandela, Julius Nyerere and Kwame Nkrumah—among the most cerebral African public personalities—would have stocked literature from all over the world, including China and India.

My father, for example, had built a huge collection of books on prehistory, history (including Gibbon’s *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*), literature (including Elizabeth Barrett Browning’s poems), philosophy (including Plato, Aristotle and the later Greeks), etc. from around the world. I, too, like my fellow pupils, had built my own collection that sought to be internationalist in outlook. One of the books in my collection was *The Wisdom of China*, by Lin Yutang (1957). I had bought a pre-owned copy from a bookstore in my home city, Dar es Salaam. (I also possessed a copy of Yutang’s book on India, *The Wisdom of India* [1949].) These books contained selections from the classics of China and India. Nussbaum’s evangelism is an embarrassment in a philosopher of her standing.

---

<sup>106</sup> *The Cosmopolitan Tradition*, p. 4.

Sadly, Nussbaum's patronizing and condescension of Mandela is far more egregious than just an embarrassment. Mandela was not your typical freedom fighter alongside Gandhi, whose racism I have discussed above. Mandela was, in the estimation of millions around the world, a singular *moral political sage* the world has not seen in centuries. Mandela did not pander to the justifiable and long-simmering desire of South Africa's blacks to wreak vengeance on the whites who had treated them like animals and had caged them in Bantustans. He fearlessly opposed his own people and unflinchingly told them that there would be no bloodletting and vengeance. Is Nussbaum suggesting that Mandela's moral philosophy and its practice in politics were taught to him by a few paragraphs in *Meditations* and did not owe anything to ancient African tribal conceptions of human dignity?

Is she suggesting that Mandela needed the conceptual assistance of an ancient Stoic philosopher whose ideas lay dormant in Europe for more than a thousand years while warmongering monarchs, emperors and political leaders like Hitler, Stalin and Mussolini tore up Europe whereas a black man, confined for 27 years behind the walls of an island prison by white Europeans whose moral inheritance included the moral teachings of the very same Stoics, read Marcus Aurelius and said to himself in his personal Eureka epiphany, "Wow, I now know what human dignity is. Thanks be to Marcus Aurelius!"? Nussbaum, no doubt unwittingly, is saying, in effect, that the doctrine of human dignity of Marcus Aurelius and his fellow Stoics failed to influence fellow white European public figures for centuries but exercised a powerful and, she would have us believe, decisive influence on Mandela and, through Mandela, on constitution-making in South Africa.

If there is any tincture of truth to these speculations, it would indicate that Nussbaum viewed Mandela, the sole genuine moral political teacher of the modern era, through the lens of the Kantian model of the races in which the black man's limited rational and moral capacities suit him for slavery but nothing else. To the world community Mandela was and remains the greatest moral political leader and teacher of our era. But to Nussbaum Mandela is a black man, therefore he cannot think about human dignity. *He had to learn what human dignity is from a second-century Roman Stoic philosopher.* Did not Kant himself say that the man he saw was black and was *therefore* stupid? Kant's formulation is very Cartesian: Descartes' "I think, therefore I exist" maps to "The man was black, therefore he was stupid."

Nussbaum is unaware that in claiming that the Stoic concept of dignity influenced Mandela and taught him to think about dignity, she grievously disrespected the great man's dignity and showed cavalier indifference to the indignities he suffered for decades under the white colonial masters. She seems to be saying that here was Mandela in the prison, unable to understand what the British were doing to him. At which point Marcus Aurelius came in handy, for the Stoic philosopher "enlightened" Mandela to the meaning of "dignity." Whereupon Mandela

was awakened to his suffering: “Oh, I see now what is happening to me: My dignity is being violated by the British! I did not know that. Thank you, Marcus Aurelius!”

Nussbaum, however, is not the exception. She is an instance of the norm. The white universalist philosophy community has taken its marching orders from Kant to go out to the world and elevate benighted colored peoples like myself to the level of European civilization—and, having accomplished this task, to maintain European rule over them for their own good lest they slide back into barbarism if left to themselves.

### **Reform Must Strike at the Root of Philosophy’s Problem with Racism**

It is beyond the scope of this already long essay to present in detail the reforms that I feel the philosophy community would have to implement to achieve a *lasting* solution to its problems with racism. A detailed reform proposal, should its necessity be acknowledged by the philosophy community and the APA, would have to be a separate project. Here I will present a high level conceptual proposal in the hope that it might, later, serve as guide and framework for developing a detailed reform package.

The *root* of philosophy’s problems with racism is the *Kantian genus-species* model that white Eurogenic philosophers have used to conceptualize and organize the discipline and its curriculum. Just as Kant equated the European race with the human race, European civilization with universal civilization, European human nature with human nature, European rationality with Reason itself, and European ethics (Practical Reason) with universal ethics, so white Eurogenic philosophers have equated the historical European philosophical tradition with philosophy itself.

Kant used the genus-species schema to elevate the European race, a historically contingent *specie*, to the category of *genus*, to elevate the European *particular* to the *universal*. The Eurogenic philosophers are a subset of the European race. They reflect their Kantian self-image as a universal *human* race (in opposition to the particular black race, red race, and yellow race) whose *human* nature (and its rational, moral and civilizational capacities) is fully and maximally endowed by none other than Nature. They regard their specific, particular and historically contingent humanity as coextensive with humanity itself. To them, *European human nature is human nature itself*, and this human nature is different from the incomplete and deficient human natures of the black, red and yellow races.

The Kantian genus-species schema entails the classification of human nature into a generic universal (European) human nature and the remaining black, red and yellow human natures. *Human nature is not the same across all races*. For white Eurogenic philosophers to proclaim, assert and teach that all races have the same human nature is egregiously misleading because when

they think of or conceptualize “human nature” they mean “European human nature” in a descriptive as well as a prescriptive way.

Plate 1 depicts the state of academic philosophy today. It is quite self-explanatory. But I will add some observations. Although the diagram describes the different philosophical disciplines in terms of Kant’s genus-species racial schema, the same diagram also serves to depict the apartheid character of the colored philosophies and their subservience to their white overlords who retain decision-making power over the philosophy Bantustans.

Contemporary philosophy expresses and gives institutional embodiment to Kant’s genus-species schema for the races. It is not a question of being surprised by this “inconvenient truth” as much as it is of *expecting* it. Why? Because philosophy today is a white enterprise, and the whites who own, control, run and chart its future course are themselves of Eurogenic stock that has been suffused with skin-color racism for centuries. They cannot but bring this outlook toward the colored races into their vision and practice of philosophy as an academic discipline.

### [The APA’s Resource Collection on Diversity and Inclusivity](#)

For philosophers of all races within academic philosophy, the acceptance of the Eurogenic philosophical traditions as “universal” philosophy has become too normalized to cause even a minor unease in their minds when this normalization happens to be all around them. Let me consider two examples that should have been a cause for complaint from one of the colored philosophers: the APA’s syllabus on “Law and Philosophy”<sup>107</sup> and the syllabus on “History of Philosophy.”<sup>108</sup>

### [Law and Philosophy](#)

“Philosophy” in this and similar courses across philosophy departments in the US and Canada reflects the current conception within the philosophy establishment that (the genus) philosophy is the same as (specie) Eurogenic philosophy (depicted in Plate 1). The course description states clearly that readings “will be drawn from historical figures (Locke, Hume, Bentham, Mill)” along with readings from contemporary legal philosophers. It is clear that the scope of coverage and readings is restricted to Anglo-American philosophy between the 17<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

---

<sup>107</sup> “Philosophy 359: Law and Philosophy,” University of Michigan.

[https://cdn.ymaws.com/www.apaonline.org/resource/resmgr/Inclusiveness\\_Syllabi/lawandphilosophy\\_anderson.pdf](https://cdn.ymaws.com/www.apaonline.org/resource/resmgr/Inclusiveness_Syllabi/lawandphilosophy_anderson.pdf)

<sup>108</sup> “History of Philosophy” is the heading for the section that lists courses for which the course instructor has posted the syllabus at the APA resource center.

[https://www.apaonline.org/members/group\\_content\\_view.asp?group=110430&id=380970](https://www.apaonline.org/members/group_content_view.asp?group=110430&id=380970)



Given this fact, in a reformed philosophy universe, this course, without having to change anything in its content, could, say, be appropriately titled “Law and Philosophy: British and American Philosophy, 17<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries.”

The relation of law to philosophy is an important theme within the several traditions in Eurogenic philosophy reaching back to the Romans, moving through Catholic Scholastic thought and, in the modern period, treated by several philosophers in Continental philosophy. Each of these traditions developed its distinctive understanding of “law” and “philosophy.” Indeed, the European Enlightenment can be construed as being especially preoccupied with the relation between law and philosophy. Among the luminaries in this movement Immanuel Kant may even deserve his own separate course: “Law and Philosophy: Immanuel Kant.”

The relation of law and philosophy is also an important theme in the Islamic and Indian traditions. Each of these two sets of traditions developed their own distinctive conception of law and philosophy and, therefore, of the relation between the two. They have as much claim to being represented in the philosophy department as do the Eurogenic traditions. In my proposed reform of philosophy (Plate 2), Eurogenic philosophy no longer enjoys a privileged status as the universal norm of philosophy; it is now a peer-level tradition vis-à-vis other traditions.

For example, an introductory survey course on the Islamic traditions could be titled “Law and Philosophy: The Islamic Traditions.” This course would ideally survey conceptions of law and philosophy among the several Islamic intellectual traditions (some of which included thought experiments that would fit comfortably in courses on the “Philosophy of Mind”) and how the protagonists understood the relation between the two to be. In one celebrated case, that of the great Aristotelian philosopher Averroes (Ibn Rushd) of Spain, the relation of law (Sharia) to philosophy centered on arguing for the legitimacy of independent thought on scriptural grounds by invoking the Sharia itself.

Yet another Islamic philosophic tradition, *Kalām*, is intimately connected to jurisprudence.<sup>109</sup> In our present day we are familiar with the discipline of “moral philosophy,” whose foremost exponent in America was the famous John Rawls. His book, *A Theory of Justice*, is a work on moral philosophy in search of moral principles that would guide and inform the development

---

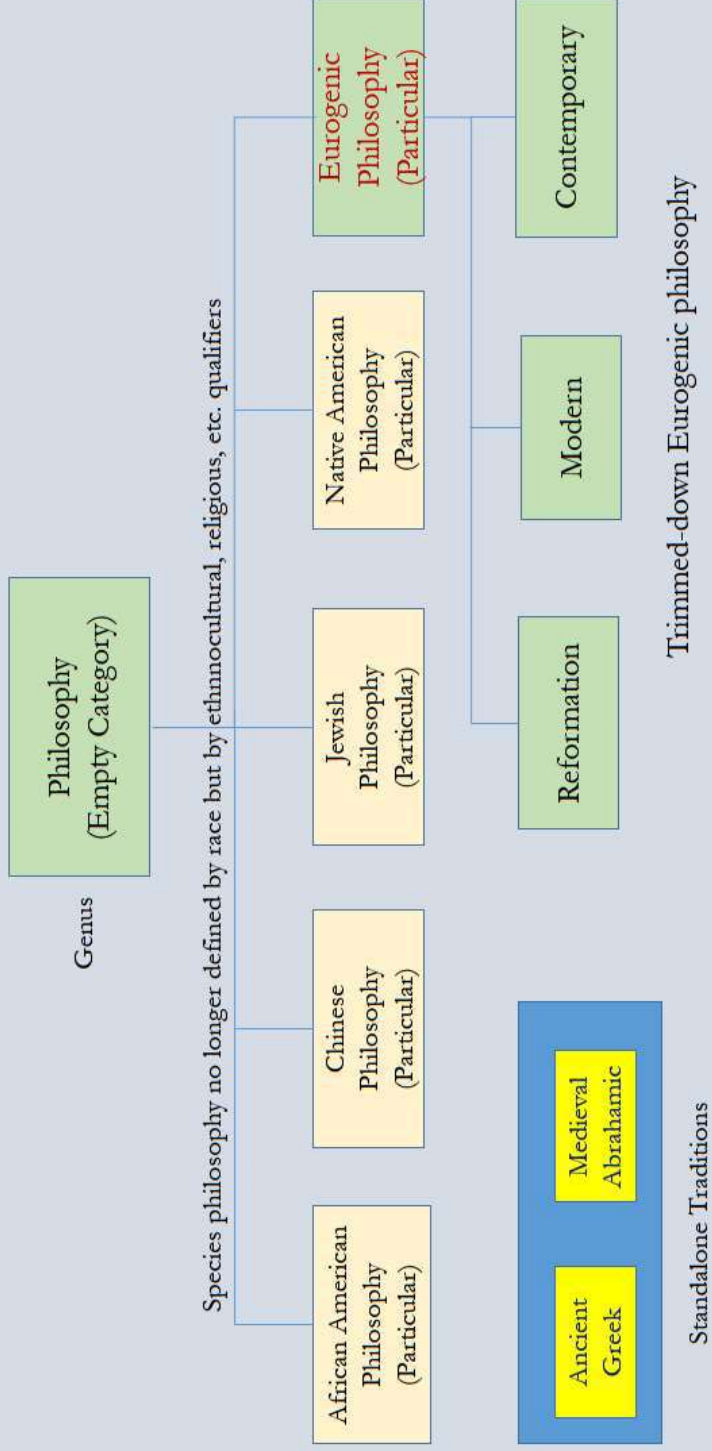
<sup>109</sup> Islamic jurisprudence is different from Roman jurisprudence. A course on “Law and Philosophy” would ideally be focused on this tradition, for example, “Law and Philosophy: The *Kalām* and Islamic Jurisprudence.” Another course could treat of the theory of contracts in Islamic jurisprudence. This theory is one of the most sophisticated moral analysis of the nature of the contract and what “legislations” (the regulatory regime governing contracts) should the jurists (law-makers) enact that complies with the moral requirements of the contract.

# Plate 2

Plate 2

## Philosophy Tomorrow?

Philosophy just a category, no longer the same as Eurogenic philosophy



of law. *Kalām* is consistently translated as “dialectical theology” by Eurogenic scholars of Islam, but this is a gross misunderstanding of what *Kalām* was about: it was a school of moral philosophy that emerged as an adjunct discipline to aid the jurists, lawyers and judges in the moral assessment of the cases they had to contend with and judge. One major aim of this movement was to develop conceptual tools for analyzing morally tricky situations. Thought experiments were not uncommon for this purpose. One remarkable example they analyzed was the case of a man who shoots an arrow at another man with the intention of killing him. But as the arrow flies toward the intended target, the man who fired the arrow has a change of heart and now does not wish to kill the man. Too late. The arrow continues on its journey and kills the man. The question here was: Is the man who fired the arrow guilty and liable for punishment? The analysis by the *mutakallims* (practitioners of *Kalām*) centered on distinguishing *intention* (“premeditation” in contemporary American law) from the *deed*.

There is much to learn from not just the Islamic but also the Indian and Chinese traditions that sought, just as the Eurogenic traditions did and do today, to understand the human condition in all its aspects. But the Kantian “supremacist” outlook of the contemporary philosophy establishment seals off these intellectual and moral enrichments from reaching the future generations who fill philosophy classrooms today.

### History of Philosophy

The field of study that is commonly called “History of Philosophy” is one with which I have been preoccupied continuously all my adult life, and about which I have much to say. But space limitations compel me to offer some remarks that I hope will be received with charity by white Eurogenic philosophers. Let me start with the collection of syllabi contributed generously by faculty who teach or have taught this subject.

The APA’s syllabus resource for courses in “History of Philosophy” lists seven courses as of this writing. These contributions are quite revealing and corroborate my observations about the Kantian universalism and supremacism of contemporary Eurogenic philosophy which I have distilled in Plate 1.

The first observation I will make is one that white Eurogenic philosophers have long been accustomed to regarding as the natural order of things. I am referring to the word “philosophy” in “History of Philosophy.” The philosophy establishment—including, I am sad to observe, philosophers from colored or non-Eurogenic backgrounds like Muslims, Chinese, Africans and others—have imbibed the Kantian genus-species schema of philosophy in which (see Plate 1) Eurogenic philosophy is viewed as—and taught to non-Eurogenic philosophy students—as the same as universalist and normative philosophy for all humanity. Of the seven courses listed in this category, only one, “Black Existentialism,” refers to a non-Eurogenic

philosophical tradition. But note that this tradition is qualified as “Black,” amply confirming my claim that the white Eurogenic philosophy overlords do not regard philosophy practiced by Black philosophers about Black life as authentic “natural” philosophy but as a “specie” philosophy (depicted in Plate 1).

Two of the remaining courses are about “17<sup>th</sup> Century Philosophy,” another is on “Descartes to Kant,” two are on “Modern” philosophy, and the sixth is on “Eugenics.” The seventh course is titled “Medieval Philosophy.” The course instructors do not need to qualify these course titles to identify them as being about the Eurogenic tradition. Philosophical activity was alive and well in the Muslim world, in China, in India and other non-Eurogenic cultures, but because these non-Eurogenic intellectual activities were carried out by (Kant’s) black and yellow races, his latter-day disciples in the philosophy establishment have endorsed Kant’s view of colored peoples as deficient in rational and moral capacities and therefore incapable of doing philosophy the way Eurogenic people are doing and *should* do.

The course titled “Medieval Philosophy” tells us that it has “components on Islamic and Jewish philosophy.” I am sure the APA’s diversity committee is happy to see that the course instructor has been generous and—shall I venture?—“ecumenical” in honoring Islamic and Jewish thought as “philosophy.” But here too, as with “Black” in Black Existentialism, it is the Kantian “specie” qualification that “condemns” the Islamic and Jewish philosophical traditions as not quite up to snuff as universalist Eurogenic philosophy. There is one other feature of this course on Medieval Philosophy that needs to be noted: In his *Universal History*, Kant had, of course, seen the ancient Greeks as having launched human history proper. The Greeks were replaced by the Romans who, in turn, were replaced by the Germans, and on to Kant’s European civilization. What about the history of the non-European races? Kant remarks that their accomplishments will be included in the narrative of European history in so far as these accomplishments have been recorded by “enlightened” European historians.<sup>110</sup> This is exactly what this course on Medieval Philosophy does: it includes those “episodes” in Islamic and Jewish philosophy that the Eurogenic philosophy establishment is willing to accept as being passably respectable philosophy.

And what might these “episodes” in Islamic and Jewish philosophy be? The answer for someone familiar with these two traditions is not hard to find: The “episodes” are the Greco-Roman influences on Islamic and Jewish philosophy. One favorite is the Aristotelian tradition (Al-Farabi, Avicenna and Averroes in Islamic philosophy and Maimonides in Jewish philosophy), and the other is Neoplatonism in these two non-Eurogenic traditions. But in a course on Medieval philosophy that customarily focuses (as I am sure this one does) on the

---

<sup>110</sup> Thus Kant is willing to include in a history of European peoples “national histories of other peoples insofar as they are known from the history of the enlightened nations.” Ninth Thesis of his *Universal History*.

Catholic Scholastics like Thomas Aquinas, the Muslim and Jewish Aristotelians are the most likely candidates as respectable “episodes” in the Kantian conception of European history as Universal History.

The Kantianism of contemporary white-dominated philosophy also explains as no other explanation does the longstanding and continuing exclusion—even in this day of the APA’s much-trumpeted professions and church-like “confessions” on behalf of “diversity” and “inclusivity”—of the Spanish episode in European history in general and in the history of European philosophy in particular. The great Aristotelian Averroes was a Spanish Muslim. The Arabs built a civilization on European soil that lasted *seven* centuries and that has been noted for its religious pluralism. The city of Toledo became a major center of philosophical activity that included a concerted effort by the Catholic Church to translate the Arabic philosophical works of the Muslim philosophers (most of whom were non-Arabs) into Latin. To this day I lament with a heavy heart this stingy, morally constricted and unbecoming spirit of the white Eurogenic philosophy establishment to acknowledge the presence and intellectual influence of the Jews and Muslims of Spain on the development of philosophy in Europe.

Even though Spanish Jews and Arabs were integral to the history of Europe, they were, alas, not white-skinned in Kant’s schema. To someone like me, Spanish Jews and Arabs were bona fide Europeans in the same way I am an American even though I am non-white. In expunging *seven centuries* of Spanish Jews and Muslims from the history of Europe and of European philosophy, the white Eurogenic philosophy establishment has revealed itself to be a faithful adherent of Kant’s color-based genus-species schema: Only the white race’s philosophical achievements count as “philosophy.” The Jews and Arabs, for all their substantive philosophic accomplishments, are not white and therefore cannot be included in the sanctum of the history of European philosophy. They may have done philosophy, but it was Jewish philosophy and Islamic philosophy, not Nature-conforming Philosophy. I will remind the white philosophy establishment that the Nazis contemptuously dismissed Einstein’s physics as “Jewish physics.” Only the physics practiced by pure Aryans was acceptable to them as real and authentic physics. The Nazis, like the white philosophy establishment’s dismissiveness of Spanish Jews and Arabs from the history of European philosophy, were conforming to Kant’s color-based genus-species schema.

As a final point of contention, I will take issue with the notion of “medieval.” I note that the instructor did not even think it necessary to title the course “Medieval Philosophy in Europe” to clarify that he or she was not referring to medieval philosophy in India or China. The title “Medieval Philosophy” is a good example of the depth to which the normalization of the white Eurogenic belief that “Eurogenic philosophy is the same as Philosophy” has reached.

The concept of the “medieval” is part of the *periodization* of European history—ancient, medieval, modern—designed to demarcate fundamentally different civilizations within the same Eurogenic race. “Medieval” represented the Dark Ages when the human mind was “tyrannized” by doctrinaire theology, roughly, between the 11<sup>th</sup> century and the Protestant Reformation in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. When Kant declared in the very first sentence of his short tract, *What is Enlightenment?*, that enlightenment consists in the freedom from tyranny over the mind of man, he had this “medieval” tyranny by the Church in mind.

This being the case with the basis of the term “medieval,” what would this term represent in India, China or the different cultural zones of the Muslim world (Mamluke, Ottoman, Safavid and Moghul)? The intellectual and social conditions in Europe during these centuries that are labeled “medieval” (for Europe) do not find counterparts in these other civilizations. So we find the paradox that, on the one hand, the term “medieval” represents a state of affairs that is universal because Eurogenic civilization is universal civilization, but, on the other hand, this specific Eurogenic state of affairs during the 11<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries is unique to Europe and is not at all universal.

Remarkably, incongruously and counterintuitively, this same medieval period in *Latin* Europe that we name as the Dark Ages, and that was characterized by the “tyranny” over the mind of man, also included the *enlightened* Golden Age of Muslim civilization to the south, in Spain, on *the same European landmass*. But the white philosophers’ supremacism and sense of autochthony fuels their intellectually dishonest belittling of Jewish and Muslim philosophy during this period.

White Eurogenic philosophers may be irritated at what must appear to them making much ado about nothing. But it is a very serious if unintended instance of letting the cat out of the bag when the instructor names his course “Medieval Philosophy,” because it is yet one more example of the Kantian colored-based genus-species schema that I have elaborated in previous pages and that I have depicted in Plate 1.

### Ancient Greece Must be Separated From Europe

In Plate 2, I have separated Ancient Greek and Medieval Abrahamic philosophies from Eurogenic philosophy. Even though the two philosophical traditions and civilizations flourished on the western end of the Eurasian landmass (that came to be named “Europe” by the Eurogenic inhabitants of this large territory), the two respective civilizations were the products of cultural fusion involving Near Eastern civilizations to which the Greeks turned for cultural mentorship and development—they were not autochthonous in origin.

It is an ahistorical dogma with white Eurogenic peoples and their ideological scholarly elite that the “birth” of European civilization occurred in ancient Greek civilization. They regard the ancient Greeks as the first Europeans. Today, the Grand Narrative of European civilization begins with the ancient Greeks and winds its way through the Romans and Germans down to modern Europe, exactly the “grand narrative” sketched by Kant in his *Universal History*.

But a steady stream of multidisciplinary scholarship during the past 40 years has dented this Grand Narrative and has “returned” ancient Greece to its proper Near Eastern cultural world.<sup>111</sup> Perhaps the most controversial book in this revisionist genre was Martin Bernal’s *Black Athena: The Afro-asiatic Roots of Classical Civilization* (1987). It is beyond the scope of this essay to allow myself to be sidetracked into a long discussion on the often personal attacks on Bernal by scholars in Classical studies, archeology, and so on. Bernal repeatedly seeks to remind his reader of his self-imposed acknowledgment that he was presenting a revised picture of Ancient Greek civilization on evidence that support plausible scenarios of the influence of ancient Egypt and of the Phoenicians on the Greeks. Bernal drew upon an astonishing array of disciplines, including dendrochronology, to marshal a massive body of philological, literary, archeological, mythological and other forms of evidence that, he claimed, when taken together, offer a plausible case for Egyptian and Phoenician shaping influence on ancient Greek civilization.

Bernal, however, had not anticipated the very ugly and personalized ad hominem attacks from academics like Mary Lefkowitz, who focused her strategy to invalidate Bernal’s ideas by citing his support for the Afrocentricity movement that was receiving attention from scholars in postcolonial studies.<sup>112</sup> It became quickly apparent to me at the time that part if not the whole of the vehemence that accompanied the technical criticisms of the book stemmed from its sacrilegious claim that *black* Africa had influenced the development of the *white* ancient Greek civilization, the mother of modern European civilization. The color angle was quite apparent to me. Bernal’s detractors were saying to him, “How dare you deign to credit *blacks* with being the roots of our *white* European civilization!” In my view, Bernal had accomplished an astounding feat of one-man multidisciplinary scholarship that would be beyond the capability of a team of scholars today. Yet here he was, reviled as a black sympathizer whose exemplary and commendable principle of plausibility was rejected outright because—we recall that Kant saw a *black* man and knew that he was *stupid*—the Classics establishment saw Bernal making the outrageous claim that *Black* Africa influenced ancient Greek civilization and so his claim must be *stupid* too.

---

<sup>111</sup> Of the many studies in this reconceptualization of ancient Greece as fundamentally an eastern, not a European, civilization, I would point to Walter Burkert’s *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*, 1998, and Martin L. West’s *The East Face of Helicon: West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth*, 1997. His earlier study, *Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient*, 1971, marks the first serious examination by West of Near Eastern civilization’s role in the emergence and making of Greek civilization.

<sup>112</sup> The central text in this movement is *Afrocentricity: The Theory of Social Change*, 1980, by Molefi Kente Asante.

As I have described early in this essay, the 1980s were marked by a backlash against the Civil Rights Act of 1964. A spate of black teenage crime had been opportunistically blown out of proportion and exploited by major “liberal” media like CNN to portray Black Americans as congenitally predisposed to violence, sexual assault, drugs, gangsterism, and so on. White Americans, including white liberal Americans, with the Kant-Darwin model already present in their cognitive systems, readily acquiesced in this media-constructed portrait of black Americans.

Today the racial climate has been transformed. It would be impossible for the “white knights” of ancient Greek civilization to use the sort of vitriolic language and thinly veiled personal attacks on Bernal which was possible in the 1980s and 1990s. Although white Eurogenic people and, especially, white philosophers will still reject his basic thesis, I am more optimistic today that there are some white American philosophers who are not outraged at the suggestion that black people may indeed have shaped the development of ancient Greek civilization. The reaction to Bernal, in my view, stemmed from Kant’s anointing of the white race as a self-sufficient civilization charged by Nature itself with the mission to elevate blacks and other races to European levels of civilization.

Whereas Bernal’s thesis was about the African sources of ancient Greek civilization, the thesis that philosophy existed before the rise of Greek philosophy has been put forward recently but has been met with stony silence, indifference and dismissiveness. The scholar Marc Van De Mieroop published his thesis in his 2015 book, *Philosophy before the Greeks: The Pursuit of Truth in Ancient Babylonia*. On the few occasions when the book has received comments from “mainstream” philosophers, these comments have been dismissive of his carefully researched conclusions.

There is another angle from which we may constructively consider the Eurogenic Grand Narrative’s claim that Ancient Greece was “Europe in its infancy” and that its civilization was European civilization.

There is no question that many elements of Greek civilization were imported into the northern and far-western (Britain, Ireland) parts of the European landmass, but this flow of Greek civilization into these areas was a later development. Not until the Germanic invasions into Roman territory starting in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD did the Germanic peoples come into direct contact with elements of Greek civilization (Greek art, for example). Prior to that, it was Roman civilization that the Roman Empire brought to its domains south of the Rhine. It was the Romans who arrived in Britain in the first century AD and remained there until the fifth century AD. To the north of the Rhine, the peoples all the way to (present-day) Denmark and even farther north to Norway, Sweden and Finland did not even convert to Christianity until the 13<sup>th</sup> century AD. Greek civilization came to these nations nearly a thousand years after



Classical Greek civilization. It is historically more accurate to describe the “civilizing” process of these north-of-the-Rhine peoples as their *Hellenization* and Romanization than to claim that they were Europeanized by the ancient “European” Greeks.

The ancient Greeks did not regard themselves as Europeans, nor did they regard Greece as part of a larger landmass called Europe, lying to their west and north. There is no shortage of ideologically driven tendentious arguments to the contrary. Here too, we see Kant’s colored genus-species schema silently working its magic on white Eurogenic philosophers, historians and Classicists committed, like theologians, to uphold the truth of their beliefs in the face of contrary empirical reality.<sup>113</sup>

Every Eurogenic child today, as far away as the schools in New Zealand, is taught the story of the abduction of Europa by Zeus in the form of a bull. Europa was a Phoenician princess (sister of Kadmus). Zeus plucked her from the shores of the eastern Mediterranean and carried her across the Mediterranean and brought her to Greece (actually, to the island of Crete, according to the myth recounted in Homer’s *Iliad*). It is not an insignificant detail for us to note that this story was invented by Greeks, not by Phoenicians who lost their princess. The study of mythology has taught us to regard myths as stories in which the actors act in ways that defy everyday common sense or even violate the laws of nature. But that is not their purpose, to just tell spellbinding stories. The stories aim to convey some information that has empirical truth at its center. Thus, in the case of Zeus abducting Europa, the story is teaching us that the Greeks (represented by Zeus, their supreme god) brought Near Eastern Phoenician and Mesopotamian civilization (represented by Europa) to Greece and became civilized. Europa is thus acknowledged by this myth as the “mother” of Greek civilization (recall that our alphabet comes from the Phoenicians). “European civilization,” if white Eurogenic philosophers and Classicists insist on calling it that, is in fact “eastern civilization” because Europa<sup>114</sup> was an Eastern princess (in what would be present-day Syria, a minor inconvenient detail of empirical history).

To see how egregiously absurd, ahistorical and embarrassing it is for Danes or Swedes to claim that their “European” civilization began in ancient Greece, consider one example, Indonesia. Indonesia today is almost entirely Muslim. Islam, born in the deserts of Arabia, traveled all the way to the Indonesian islands and firmly established itself as the supreme

---

<sup>113</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, in his famous and very provocative book, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, 1996, was unwilling to accept Greece as part of the West. He was surely not unaware of the role of ancient Greece in the development of European civilization, so it is more likely that his rejection of Greece as a Western country is rooted in its Eastern Orthodox Christianity. Huntington regarded Latin Christianity as an integral constitutive component of Western civilization.

<sup>114</sup> The much maligned Martin Bernal was a very competent philologist who studied the linguistic map of the ancient Near East. He identified the Phoenician words *europa* and *kadmus* as the equivalents of the Semitic words *gharb* (meaning “west”) and *qadim* (meaning “east”). His philological analysis forms part of his *Black Athena*.

religion of the indigenous peoples. Every aspect of contemporary Indonesian civilization has been influenced by Islam. Imagine now the school textbooks on Indonesian history claiming that “Indonesia was born in Mecca in faraway Arabia.” Imagine, too, that the textbooks also teach the pupils that Prophet Muhammad and the Medinan State he established were in reality “Indonesia in its infancy.” How is one to respond to this assertion? It is nothing more than a fabrication, a *fable*, an example of ideological “nationalist” history that is sadly common across many countries today. The historically correct thing to have said in the textbooks is that Indonesia was Islamized by the Arab traders who came to the islands to do business. They were not Indonesians from Medina bringing Indonesian culture to the natives but Arabs bringing Islam to them.

Yet this sort of ahistorical thinking is nestled firmly and deeply in the mind of every Eurogenic person today, including the white philosophers in the Eurogenic world as far away as New Zealand. Europeans and Americans would have us believe that the Greeks brought “European” civilization to native civilization-less Danes, Swedes, and others. Just as the Indonesians contrived the neat conceptual gymnastics of equating Islamization with Indonesianization, so the Europeans have contrived the neat gymnastics of equating Hellenization with Europeanization. Both these conceptual acrobatics may be spellbinding, but both are nothing but contrived fables.

### A Standalone Course on Ancient Greek Philosophy

In Plate 2, I have placed the two traditions—Ancient Greece and Medieval Abrahamic—outside the revised Eurogenic tradition. I am not arguing that Ancient Greek philosophy or Medieval philosophy are not part of the overall historical development of European philosophy. I am arguing that they are not *exclusive* to European philosophy, that ancient Greek philosophy is not “European” philosophy in the manner that modern Anglo-American and Continental philosophy are European.

Medieval philosophy is clearly an integral and important chapter in the rise of modern European philosophy, but its development was strongly influenced by Islamic philosophy, to which the Catholic theologians turned for guidance on how to reconcile Aristotle’s frightfully daunting metaphysics with their Christian dogmas—how to reconcile the “secular rationalism” of Aristotle with the claims of revelation.

In the case of Ancient Greek philosophy, its role in the development of European philosophy is parallel to its role in the development of Islamic philosophy. It was historically external to and temporally prior to both philosophical traditions. But its relation to European philosophy is distorted by the anachronistic claim of white Eurogenic philosophers and Classicists that Ancient Greece was “Europe in its infancy” (recall my analogy about Mecca being “Indonesia

in its infancy”). Seen from a strictly chronological perspective, the philosophical corpus of the Greek philosophers began its powerful formative influence on Islamic philosophy in the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD and has remained integral to several Islamic intellectual traditions in the present day, especially in contemporary Iranian Islamic philosophy. On the other hand, it was not until the 11<sup>th</sup> century AD that Greek philosophy was conveyed to Christian Europe through the writings of the Muslim philosophers (from Spain and the Muslim world).<sup>115</sup>

This re-assignment of the role of Ancient Greece in the Eurogenic Grand Narrative makes a compelling case for treating Ancient Greek civilization in general and Ancient Greek philosophy in particular as *sui generis* and not as European. Thus, it would be eminently proper to name a course on Aristotle’s metaphysics as “Ancient (or Classical) Greek Philosophy: Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*.” But it would not be proper to title a course “History of Philosophy: Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*” because “Philosophy” in the title perpetuates the notion that it is the same as Eurogenic philosophy. One proper title would be “History of Medieval European Philosophy: Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*.” We would then be able to name courses in the Islamic context, for example, “History of Islamic Philosophy: Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*.” Neither European philosophy nor Islamic philosophy can lay universalist claims on behalf of their philosophies.

## VIII

### Conclusion

#### What Americans Can Learn from Ancient African Culture

African people present to the world community, especially white Eurogenic peoples, a model of racial harmony that is counterintuitive to Eurogenic peoples. It is counterintuitive because Africa (and Indigenous Americans) cannot boast civilizational achievements comparable to those of the Eurogenic peoples in the arts, sciences, technology, advanced state systems and material culture like large complex cities.

---

<sup>115</sup> This general statement needs to be nuanced with the mention of John Scotus Eriugena (815-877). He was an Irishman who reportedly studied Greek at Byzantine Athens in the early 9<sup>th</sup> century. Eriugena’s intellectual career was spent in Aachen in France. He was exposed to Plato through the works of Saint Augustine and to Neoplatonism through the Cappadocian Fathers who synthesized their (Greek) Christian beliefs with Neoplatonic philosophy. Eriugena is an exceptional philosopher in 9<sup>th</sup> century Europe and represents a separate and early route by which the ideas of the ancient Greeks entered the western areas of Europe. My remarks about the Muslim role stress the philosophical content of their works that were translated into Latin for the benefit of the Church doctors like Saint Thomas Aquinas. Here the interest was mainly on Aristotle’s writings and the further development of the ideas in these writings by Muslim philosophers like Al-Farabi, Avicenna and Averroes. Averroes’ commentary on Aristotle’s *Metaphysics* was one of the most important texts for the Catholic theologians. The article in the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, and another in Wikipedia, are good entry points into the life, times and work of the very intriguing Eriugena.

From the Spanish invaders into the Americas in the 16<sup>th</sup> century through Hume, Rousseau, Kant and Hegel, Europeans have regarded civilization as evidence of humanity. Kant says at several points that it is through creating civilization that human nature becomes complete and humans become worthy of their humanity. Neither Africans nor Indigenous Americans had produced any civilization that Europeans could acknowledge, respect and learn from. Kant could not but conclude that Africans and American Indigenous peoples had to have different and inferior human natures. Their failure to develop civilization had to have metaphysical reasons. His raciology, which links transcendently endowed human nature to skin color, was an attempt to explain this failure of African and Indigenous peoples to develop civilization.

### **Eurogenic *Grand Narrative***

The Grand Narrative of European civilization is the story of the progressive achievement and enlargement of freedom, human rights and the equality of all humans. School children are taught that the struggle for human rights began with the Magna Carta (1215) in England. The American and French Revolutions marked the success of this ancient struggle for human rights. After World War II, the victorious powers—Germany was left out but the Soviet Union was included in the drafting committee—drafted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1948. Equality of all humans and the “Rights of Man” (the title of Thomas Paine’s book) have become today the core distinguishing elements that Eurogenic peoples project about themselves to colored peoples of the world.

### **Eurogenic *Minor Narrative***

But parallel to this Grand Narrative, there was another long-running *Minor Narrative* among Europeans at the center of which was the principle of unequal human natures. This Minor Narrative is the Kant-Darwin model. The Grand Narrative was an intra-European affair, whereas the Minor Narrative was about European peoples’ conception of colored peoples and *their practice of this conception* as imperialism, colonialism and the sorts of dehumanizing treatment of Africans, Native Americans and Polynesians that we see in the photos in this essay. Eurogenic peoples are not taught about this Minor Narrative. As a result, they remain ignorant of it and of its catastrophic consequences for colored peoples all over the world.

The United States presents us with a society where these two narratives have existed side by side and have been locked in a fierce struggle for dominance. The police departments and law enforcement institutions are centers of the *practice* of the Minor Narrative. But they are part of a wider circle that includes the KKK and other supremacist “saviors” of white European civilization. African Americans like Paul Butler (whom I have quoted above) lament that the

police departments do not see black Americans as human beings but as apes. He is unaware that he is referring to the Kant-Darwin Minor Narrative.

The reason why race relations in the US (and other Eurogenic countries) are so intractable is that the two narratives with their opposing conceptions of human nature are held by the *same white individual*, liberal or conservative. As I described above, Hillary and Bill Clinton, the icons of liberalism, betrayed their Kant-Darwin Minor Narrative beliefs that are the same as those held by the police departments. The difference is that in the case of liberals like Hillary Clinton, their Minor Narrative is *covert*, whereas in the case of the police departments it is *overt*. The Clintons and liberals like them resort to *legislation* that harms blacks (for example, tougher sentencing for minor offenses, cuts in welfare that disproportionately hurt poor black women, etc.), whereas the white police officers resort to *guns* to kill blacks.

This *co-existence in the same white individual* of these two contradictory narratives also explains the behavior of Amy Cooper, the woman in New York City's Central Park who called the police on Christian Cooper (no relation), the black bird watcher. She is a liberal white woman who supported Barack Obama and even donated \$1,000 to his campaign (she also donated to Peter Buttigieg's campaign for president). This is her Grand Narrative side. When she encountered Christian Cooper and was offended when he asked her to leash her dog, she called the cops on him and told them that he was threatening her life. She had to know that she was putting Christian Cooper's life in danger because the NYPD police officers are itching to kill a black man. This is her Minor Narrative Kant-Darwin side. White Americans profess fierce commitment to the principle of equal human nature, but they also subscribe to the principle of unequal human nature when it comes to black and Native American human beings. Their Amy Cooper lurks, for the most part, in the shadow of their Grand Narrative about equal rights, autonomy, and so on. But it is there all right, and it can be invoked when the situation demands it, as it did when Amy Cooper encountered Christian Cooper.

Christian Cooper, the target of Amy Cooper's racist threat, wrote an Op-Ed for The Washington Post on July 14, 2020.<sup>116</sup> He refused to cooperate with the Manhattan District Attorney's decision to prosecute Amy Cooper for falsely reporting an incident in the third degree. He explained why:

I think it's a mistake to focus on this one individual. The important thing the incident highlights is the long-standing, deep-seated racial bias against us black and brown folk that permeates the United States.

Focusing on charging Amy Cooper lets white people off the hook from all that. They can scream for her head while leaving *their own prejudices unexamined*. They can push for

---

<sup>116</sup> "Why I have chosen not to aid the investigation of Amy Cooper." *The Washington Post*, July 14, 2020. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/christian-cooper-why-i-am-declining-to-be-involved-in-amy-coopers-prosecution/2020/07/14/1ba3a920-c5d4-11ea-b037-f9711f89ee46\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/christian-cooper-why-i-am-declining-to-be-involved-in-amy-coopers-prosecution/2020/07/14/1ba3a920-c5d4-11ea-b037-f9711f89ee46_story.html)

her prosecution and pat themselves on the back for having done something about racism, when they've actually done nothing, and *their own Amy Cooper*<sup>117</sup> remains only one purse-clutch in the presence of a black man away. [My emphasis]

The Minor Narrative is the police-supporting law-and-order side of Eurogenic peoples. Liberal Democrats like Amy Cooper want to feel secure from (Hillary Clinton's) predatory blacks, and this concern leads them to support the police departments and law enforcement. (In the unfolding George Floyd case, Joe Biden, the Democrat who could be the next president, has made statements supportive of the police departments.) The scandalous failure of the Democrats in Congress, when they have controlled both the Senate and the House, to enact legislation to reform law enforcement, is due to the fact that white liberals in the Democratic Party are closet Minor Narrative liberals who support the police departments and are unwilling to shackle them. They also realize that rank and file liberal white Americans carry the Minor Narrative view of blacks in their minds and are therefore law-and-order supporters of the police departments. This is one of the main reasons, if not the main reason, why the Congressional Black Caucus has been unable to accomplish any legislation aimed at reforming the police departments and the criminal justice system as a whole: they are stymied in these efforts by their own white liberal Democratic colleagues.

If there is to be a lasting solution to racism in the US and Eurogenic societies, it will be necessary to address and eliminate the Kant-Darwin Minor Narrative. The end of the colonial practice of this Minor Narrative in Africa did not end its practice in American society. Sadly, most Americans do not realize that racism in their society is more than simply hatred, bigotry or just plain dislike of black skin. There is a sophisticated and metaphysically grounded conceptual framework that depicts black-skinned men as ape-like, predatory and criminal—the Kant-Darwin model.

The examples of race relations offered by South Africa and Tanzania need to be studied by young Americans, for they are based on a conception of the equality of all human natures. African tribes may not have developed civilization in a form that Kant would respect, and they may not have articulated in literature their conception of the equality of human natures of all human beings. But the conception exists and has existed from primordial times. It explains why giants like Nelson Mandela and Julius Nyerere emerged from Africa and not from Europe (which has produced monsters like Hitler, Stalin, Mussolini but also racist imperialist “statesmen” like Winston Churchill, all of them Kant-Darwinian to their core).

---

<sup>117</sup> The sections in this essay on major and minor narratives, and much of Part One on the Kant-Darwin model, are reproduced from an earlier essay that I published at my website in mid-June 2020, *Julius Nyerere and African Racism: The Kant-Darwin Model*. Already in that essay I had identified Amy Cooper as the Minor Narrative (the Kant-Darwin model) that co-exists with the Grand Narrative in the same individual. Christian Cooper's reference to the Amy Cooper inside white people (in his July 14, 2020 Op-Ed for The Washington Post), a month after I had written about it, is a most welcome if somber corroboration of this aspect of my conceptualization of racism in the US.

## Tribal Versus Scriptural Conceptions of the Equality of Human Natures

The tribal and Indigenous conception of the equality of human natures of all tribes and Indigenous peoples is a much more authentically humanistic conception than the doctrine of equality taught by Christianity and Islam. Christians and Muslims proclaim the equality of humans on theological and scriptural grounds. Muslims say that “Islam believes in the equality of all humans regardless of color, ethnicity, sex,” and so on. Some will point to the Prophet’s farewell speech at the Plains of Ghadir, while others cite the well-known Qur’anic verse in which the Qur’an declares that humanity was created out of one soul. Muslims and Christians believe in the equality of all humans because their scriptures tell them so: “I treat you as my equal because the Qur’an tells me to.” This is a limited and *scriptural*, not fully humanistic, conception of the equality of all humans.

Tribal societies, on the other hand, *evolved* the conception of equal human natures without needing a transcendent authority to teach them the principle. It grew within them organically. More remarkable still, each tribe had its own religion, its own creation account that was different from that of another tribe. The creation stories explained how the tribe came into being. It was not explaining how all tribes came into being. Rather, each tribe evolved its “personalized” creation story, and yet, when they interacted with each other, each recognized the other as a fellow human community. This suggests that the principle that all tribes have the same human nature evolved independently of the specific idiosyncratic creation accounts of individual tribes. Given the contemporary relevance that I have claimed for the genuine humanism of African tribes, this is an area of tribal culture that needs to be studied.

In the case of Islam, Muslims have been taught to view the pre-Islamic culture of the Arabs as a period of *Jāhiliyyah*, which they expediently translate as “ignorance.” They mean by “ignorance” a state of ignorance about Allah, the Creator of the universe. The Prophet brought the warring tribes into a new fraternity by defining them all as children of Adam and Eve. They were equal to one another because they were all children of the same progenitors. The pre-Islamic Arabs were already familiar with the idea of descent from a primordial ancestor. Tribes identified themselves as “children (servants) of such and such ancestor,” for example, “We are ‘Abd Manāf,” and so on. The Prophet (or the Qur’an) mapped this principle of being children/servants to Adam and Eve and proclaimed to the Arabs that they were now children of Adam and Eve and were therefore equal to each other on that account. This new framing of the principle of the equality of humans made sense to the Arabs because the conceptual framework of the principle of equality was already present implicitly in the cognitive system of the Arabs. The Prophet could not have used the same theology on the Chinese. He could not have said to them, “You are all children of Adam and Eve,” because the Chinese did not have (and do not have) Adam and Eve in their cosmologies or cultural background.

Pre-Islamic Arabs, like African tribes, were already possessed of the principle of the equality of the human nature of all humans. Just as was the case with African and Indigenous peoples everywhere, this principle had *evolved* organically, I would say *sociobiologically*, from millennia of generations down to the Prophet's time. They did not have to be *taught* that they were equal, as Muslims and Christians need to be taught (Hindus, with their caste system, are in desperate need to be taught this principle). They grew up with this understanding as a built-in principle. Thus, the ancient African tribal conception of equal human nature is more "humanistic" because it evolved independently of their "theologies," unlike that of scriptural religions like Islam and Christianity. However, there is a term and concept in the Qur'an that acknowledges that all humans are possessed of this principle of equal human natures: *fiṭrah*. But I must leave its elaboration for another time.

The African conception of equal human natures shows that Kant and his fellow Europeans were wrong to link *civilizational* capacity with *intellectual/moral* capacity and index them to *skin color*. For ultimately, how we value humans who have different skin colors is a *moral* evaluation that has no intrinsic connection to science, art, technology, and so on. South Africa and Tanzania, but also, to a lesser extent Kenya and Uganda, are teaching the world how to build multiracial political communities based on a conception of the equality of human natures regardless of skin color or other bodily features. It is a lesson that white Americans and their Eurogenic siblings should learn so that they can confront and eliminate the destructive Kant-Darwin Minor Narrative demon within themselves and within their societies.

## EPILOGUE

And then the whining school-boy, with his satchel  
And shining morning face, creeping like snail  
Unwillingly to school.

William Shakespeare, *All the World's a Stage*

If the philosophy community and the APA are serious and sincere in their public professions of their commitment to confront racism within and without, they must conduct an honest individual, collective and institutional moral self-audit. If they do this, they will discover a demon within themselves which they must exorcise. Anything less will serve only to reinforce the validity of my analysis that I have presented in this essay.

This demon is the Kant-Darwin model of races that whites in general but the white philosophy community in particular—especially Kantians—carry as their Minor Narrative living alongside, but in the shadow of, their Grand Narrative. My decades-long familiarity with the philosophy community and the APA warns me to expect them to dig in, to take



offense at my views, to react to me with a “how dare you” put downs, and perhaps, given the political climate of the moment, to *whine* a little and promise cosmetic programs of the sort the APA is currently in the midst of developing.<sup>118</sup> To honestly confront this demon, they must grab it by its two horns: the American police departments and their own smug and condescending evangelism with which they regard and act toward the non-Eurogenic peoples of the world.

With respect to the first horn, I cannot see how the philosophy community will attempt to dismiss my analysis of the Kant-Darwin model that governs—the way grammar governs how we use language and think—the police departments’ conceptions of black people, the language they use for them and the actions they take toward them, all of which are prompted by the Kant-Darwin cognitive system that is ensconced in their minds.

Instead of attempting to avoid the introspection that I have urged upon them, they should introduce courses that search for, identify, analyze and draw up practical proposals for policing reform aimed at expunging the Kant-Darwin model from the entire criminal justice system. Since philosophers do not like to get their hands dirty by worrying about practical matters, it would behoove them to enlist the resources of the law schools whose legislative minds can translate the analysis of the philosophers into practicable solutions for the state or federal legislatures to enact into law. The beginning of wisdom here is for the philosophers to “confess” to the unsettling kinship their Kantianism has with the Kantianism of the police departments.

The second horn of the demon which the philosophers must grab is their Kantian intellectual and moral superiority complex and evangelism toward the non-Eurogenic peoples, exemplified by Martha Nussbaum in her condescension toward arguably the greatest moral statesman of our age. She is also an aggressive evangelist on behalf of “noble” Stoic cosmopolitanism and its appropriateness as the conceptual framework upon which a rights-respecting world order should be constructed. But she is just one missionary among a growing posse of philosopher-missionaries propelled toward benighted Africans, Muslims, Chinese and others by a zealous rationality and quasi narcissism of the sort Nussbaum exemplifies clearly in her writings.

I am particularly disheartened by the willingness of Black and Native American philosophers to acquiesce in the Kant-inspired establishment of the two APA newsletters that I have discussed above, *Philosophy and the Black Experience* and *Native American and Indigenous Philosophy*. Do they not realize that these newsletters are nothing more than “Bantustans” or “reservations” for them?

---

<sup>118</sup> In response to a letter I wrote to the APA complaining that it was being tone deaf in what seemed to me to be indifference to George Floyd’s killing, the executive director wrote to me and assured me that a strategic planning group in the organization is developing a series of webinars—conversations—to address the issue of racism within philosophy and the philosophy establishment. Philosophers and theologians are the two groups who believe that *speech* is the same as *action*. It is all cosmetics, more talk, more of the same.

By acquiescing to these newsletters they have unknowingly acted in conformity to Kant's color-based genus-species schema and emboldened white philosophers to claim that Kant's schema is "true."

As for the white philosophers, they need to exorcise the Kant-Darwin demon within the APA and the philosophy curriculum—even if they have to do it *creeping like snail, Unwillingly to school*—and to abandon their Eurocentric supremacism and evangelism directed toward non-white philosophies.

But white American philosophers need to do more: They need to think of themselves as *citizens* first and philosophers second. Up until now, they have been indifferent to racism in America. This indifference to racism is the obverse of their deliberate silence about the racism of the Enlightenment philosophers. Thus, in addition to undertaking reforms within the philosophy community (including the APA and the philosophy curriculum), they need to create new programs for their fellow American citizens to educate them about the Kant-Darwin theory of the races and its destructive role in slavery, in the obliteration of the ancestral culture of the African slaves, in lynchings, in human zoos, in institutional discrimination, in law enforcement but especially in policing, and in every other nook and corner of American society, politics, culture, law, etc.

At a practical level, the philosophy community should look into collaborative ventures with mainstream media (newspapers, networks, TV) that reach into millions of homes; into local public libraries; into the school systems where courses on the Kant-Darwin theory can be introduced into the school curriculums, and so on. The present "outreach" programs of the APA to these audiences reproduces the shortcomings that I have labored to expose in this essay. An overhaul of the content of these programs cannot be avoided.

I began this essay by observing, in the Prologue, that the philosophy community suffers from a "sincerity deficit" in its attitudes and practices toward anti-Black racism in America. I have dug deep to the root of this "sincerity deficit" and have discovered there the deep-lying Kant-Darwin model of the races. If I am cautiously hopeful today that the philosophy community will take an honest look at itself and sincerely commit itself to fundamental reforms, it is because they are human, and being human they are endowed with conscience. This conscience has been muzzled by their Kant-Darwin model until now, but their response to George Floyd's killing gives me grounds for believing that they, including the APA, are willing today to look inward to their consciences for moral inspiration.

© Mohamed Abualy Alibhai August 2020

